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WOODROW WILSON

Woodrow Wilson, Age 23

The picture was taken in 1879 when he was a Senior in Princeton University

WOODROW WILSON

THE MAN AND HIS WORK

A BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY

BY

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PREFACE

In this work I have tried to give a systematic account of what Woodrow Wilson has done, and of the principles on which he acts. The latter is really the more important, for information without insight is of little value and indeed may be a disadvantage. Besides recounting events I have therefore endeavored to exhibit them in their bearing upon the public welfare, apart from considerations of party advantage; and also to point out their constitutional significance. These are the things that count in the reckonings of history; these are the things that ought to determine present judgment; these are the things I have had in mind in writing this biography.

H. J. F.

Princeton, March, 1916.

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WOODROW WILSON

CHAPTER I

BIRTH AND EDUCATION

IN his family descent Woodrow Wilson belongs to the Scotch-Irish stock whose arrival in the American colonies, at the time when the settlements were only a narrow coastwise strip, gave the first start to effective occupation of the interior. His ancestors were not, however, among these pioneers, but came from Ulster early in the nineteenth century. The War of Independence and the rise of American nationality had not severed the ties between Ulster and America, and emigration still flowed briskly along familiar channels.

Among the emigrants in 1807 was a County Down youth, James Wilson, who was bound for Philadelphia, always a favorite port with the Ulster people. He obtained employment at the printing trade, in the office of William Duane's

newspaper, the *Aurora,* with such good prospects that he felt able to wed Anne Adams, an Ulster girl who had come over in the same ship with him. They were married November 1, 1808, by the Rev. Dr. George C. Potts, pastor of the Fourth Presbyterian Church, of which denomination they were both staunch adherents.

With the restoration of peace after the War of 1812, the movement of population to the West was renewed with great vigor, and James Wilson was caught by it. He went to Pittsburg, cast about for an opening, and finally found one to his mind at Steubenville, a river town in the then new state of Ohio. Here he founded the *Western Herald,* and in its office every one of his seven sons was taught the printing trade. In 1832, he founded a paper in Pittsburg, the *Pennsylvania Advocate,* which was under the immediate charge of his eldest son. James Wilson maintained editorial supervision over both papers until his death in 1857. He was a justice of the peace and hence was commonly known as Judge Wilson.

Woodrow Wilson's father was the youngest

son of Judge Wilson, Joseph Ruggles, born at Steubenville, February 28, 1822. In addition to absorbing the printing craft like all his brothers, he applied himself to scholarship, and after a good preparatory training at an academy in Steubenville, went to Jefferson College at Canonsburg, Pennsylvania, where he was graduated in 1844 as valedictorian. After a year's experience in teaching at Mercer, Pennsylvania, he turned toward the Presbyterian ministry. He attended the Western Theological Seminary at Allegheny, Pennsylvania, for a year, and then went for a year to Princeton Seminary. Although now licensed to preach, he continued for years thereafter to labor chiefly as an educator. After receiving a B.D. degree from Princeton Seminary in 1846, he taught for two years in the Steubenville Male Academy. While there he became acquainted with Miss Janet Woodrow, of Chillicothe, Ohio, a pupil of the Steubenville academy for girls. They were married on June 7, 1849. Her father was the Rev. Dr. Thomas Woodrow, originally a Scotch Presbyterian minister, who had settled at Carlisle, England, for

sixteen years, and Janet was one of eight children born to him there. Thence he removed to Canada and was engaged in missionary work there when, in 1837, he was invited to the pastorate of the First Presbyterian Church of Chillicothe. Two weeks after Joseph Wilson's marriage to Doctor Woodrow's daughter, he was ordained by the Presbytery of Ohio, but his occupation still continued to be chiefly educational. For a year he served in Jefferson College as "professor extraordinary" of rhetoric. From 1851 to 1855 he was professor of chemistry and natural science in Hampden Sydney College, Virginia. In 1855 he took pastoral charge of a church at Staunton, and here, on December 28, 1856, there was born to him a son who received the family names, Thomas Woodrow Wilson. Woodrow was the third of the Wilson children, the two preceding being girls. His only brother was born ten years later.

The Wilson family did not remain long in Staunton but removed thence to Augusta, Georgia, while Woodrow was in his second year. The Rev. Mr. Wilson had a distinguished career in

the Presbyterian Church, South. The degree of D.D. was conferred upon him by Oglethorpe University in 1857. He was pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Augusta 1858-1870; professor of pastoral and evangelistic theology in Columbia (S. C.) Theological Seminary, 1870-74; pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Wilmington, N. C., 1874-85, and professor of theology in the Southwestern Presbyterian University, Clarksville, Tennessee, 1885-93. He served as permanent clerk of the general assembly of the Presbyterian Church, South, 1861-5; as stated clerk, 1865-1899; and as moderator, 1879. His wife died April 15, 1888. He retained his professor's chair at Clarksville until he was seventy-one, when he retired from active labor and went back to Columbia to reside. The last years of his life were spent with his eldest son at Princeton, where he died, January 21, 1903, in his 81st year. He was well known and liked by Princeton people, who noted in him the source of his son's personal characteristics, particularly a turn for anecdote, a flow of animal spirits, and sociability of disposition. His pictures also indicate that

Woodrow Wilson took after his father in physique as well as in temperament.

Although Woodrow Wilson's childhood was spent in the South during the Civil War, he escaped its severities. Augusta, then a city of about fifteen thousand population, was never in the actual track of the war and was never occupied by the Federal troops until the Reconstruction Period. There were times when the food supply became confined to a few staples, and there were periods when war's alarms disquieted the elders, but there was nothing so eventful as to impress the mind of a child with memories of the struggle. He was not quite nine years old when the war ended, and if its incidents had any special bearing on his childhood it was in postponing the beginning of his school days.

His first acquaintance with literature was obtained in the home circle. The family had the habit, quite common among educated people in the old South, of having someone read aloud when the home circle gathered about their evening employments. Not only the father and the mother, but also the boy's two sisters, often read

aloud, and in this way the boy heard and relished passages from Scott, Dickens, and other authors, before he knew his letters. The father was a sociable, instructive, and communicative companion, and he laid well and durably the foundations of the boy's education before a school book was taken in hand.

Woodrow began his schooling at an academy opened by a Confederate veteran who had returned to civil pursuits after four years of soldiering. Notwithstanding its casual inception it was a good school, numbering distinguished men among its graduates. One of them was the late Justice Lamar of the United States Supreme Court.

The Wilsons moved from Augusta to Columbia, South Carolina, in 1870, where Woodrow went to school at a local academy. In spite of his late start he advanced so well in his studies that by the time he was seventeen he was ready to go to college. In 1873 he entered Davidson (N. C.) College. His career there was brief. He joined the Eumenean literary society, and he played baseball on the college team, but he did

not finish out the year, as he fell ill and went home to his family, now settled in Wilmington, North Carolina. There Woodrow remained for a year, building up his constitution, which had been affected by an over-rapid physical development, and meanwhile pursuing studies to meet the entrance qualifications at Princeton, whither it had been decided that he should go. He matriculated there in September, 1875.

Although, since he has become famous, interesting anecdotal details have been collected about his school days, there is really little that is significant. At one time he had had a passionate fondness for sea stories, and had familiarized himself with the rigging and navigation of vessels before he had ever seen the ocean, but such enthusiasms are characteristics of childhood. What really counted was that he acquired a taste for general reading, which is an appetite that once developed tends to become insatiable. Indulgence of this taste seems to have been the significant feature of his Princeton career. He does not appear to have been prominent in stu-

dent activities, and was connected with comparatively few organizations. In his freshman year he joined "The Tarheels," which had been established to commemorate the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence. His eating club was "The Alligators," which he joined in his sophomore year. In his senior year he was one of the five directors of the football association and acted as secretary of the board, but he did not play on the team. In those days football did not have its present prominence among college sports and but five games were played during the season, only three of which were with other college teams. At that time he stood five feet eleven and weighed one hundred and fifty-six pounds. His figure has not varied much since.

His record for scholarship was sound without being brilliant. His general average for the four years was 90.3 and he stood thirty-eighth in a graduating class of one hundred and six. His highest standing in scholarship was attained during his sophomore year and his poorest was during his senior year. In philosophy, ethics, history, political science, and English literature he always

received a high rating, but in scientific branches he received lower ratings and these brought down his average. The poorest showing he made was in astronomy, in which his senior rating was 73 —more than passable but not distinguished.

In view of the faculty for public speaking which he subsequently developed, it is rather remarkable that he did not figure more prominently as an orator. He joined Whig Hall and received its training in public speaking, but did not obtain a place upon the college debating team; and his only distinction in this field is the minor one of winning a second prize in a Hall debate during his sophomore year. His activities at Princeton were chiefly literary, and it was only in this field that he gained marked distinction. He was elected a member of the editorial board of the *Princetonian* for the term of April, 1877, to April, 1878, was one of two managing editors from November 15, 1877, to January 10, 1878, and was the sole managing editor from May, 1878, to May, 1879. In addition to his work on the *Princetonian,* he was a contributor to the *Nassau Literary Magazine* and won a prize by

an essay on William, Earl Chatham, published in the number for October, 1878.

The most remarkable and significant performance of his undergraduate period was an article on "Cabinet Government in the United States," contributed to the *International Review* and published in the issue for August, 1879. That a youth of twenty-three should have been able to get into a high-grade review with an elaborate article on public policy was certainly a notable literary exploit. It occupies nearly eighteen solid pages and was evidently regarded by the editor as an important article—as indeed it was. It is marked by a breadth of knowledge, range of vision, and independence of thought that is rarely found in youth, however brilliant and gifted. Such an article could never have been created merely upon the basis of a college curriculum. It was the outcome of personal observation and experience, and these are not the qualifications that one is apt to acquire during the undergraduate period. The matter becomes intelligible when it is considered what pungent occasion for interest in public affairs was supplied by the impressions of his

childhood during the Reconstruction Period in the South, and how that interest presided over his thought and reading. The reading of anyone who reads to much purpose is apt to seem desultory, but that is because it seeks understanding rather than information and in turning to every quarter for light is led on into many fields. A determination to figure in public affairs is not a novel undergraduate ambition, but in this particular case it was allied with pertinacious industry. Notions of politics derived from family tradition, from the newspapers, and from college manuals were corrected and improved by assiduous reading of histories, memoirs, biographies, and periodical literature—not by set rule but in pursuit of ideas and for the satisfaction of intellectual interests. In form and style the *International Review* article is plainly modeled upon the pattern supplied by the English quarterlies upon which the youthful author was in the habit of browsing. Then, too, there are passages that seem to have been originally prepared for forensic use, and that may have been utilized in debate before incorporation in the essay. But what distinguishes

this essay from the clever imitative work not infrequently done by young authors is the independent quality of the thought.

At that period politics and ethics were confused in the accepted manuals, as indeed they still are in schoolbooks on civics. The regular way of treating constitutional arrangements was to impute to them the merit of their intentions and to account for their failure in practice by the machinations of politicians or by the ignorance and perversity of the electorate. Hence the people are always to blame when things go wrong, and it follows that political improvement is to be sought through moral improvement. In grasping the principle that the quality of power is determined by the conditions under which it is exercised, and that good management of the public business is as much a matter of sound organization as good management of private business, young Wilson doubtless profited by studying Bagehot's works; but the particular application of that principle to the interpretation of American conditions was wholly his own. In a treatise of singular force and vivacity Bagehot had

knocked to pieces the old check and balance theory of the English constitution. He showed that its efficacy really depended upon concentration of authority and that the mainspring was the organic connection of the executive and the legislative branches. Wilson probably took from Bagehot his way of viewing politics from the standpoint of actual practice, but that is all.

This article was so decisive in its influence upon Wilson's career, and it contains in embryo so much of his subsequent thinking and writing upon government, that it deserves special consideration. It begins with a reference to existing conditions.

"Our patriotism seems of late to have been exchanging its wonted tone of confident hope for one of desponding solicitude. Anxiety about the future of our institutions seems to be daily becoming stronger in the minds of thoughtful Americans. A feeling of uneasiness is undoubtedly prevalent, sometimes taking the shape of a fear that grave, perhaps radical, defects in our mode of government are militating against our liberty and prosperity. A marked and alarming

decline in statesmanship, a rule of levity and folly instead of wisdom and sober forethought in legislation, threaten to shake our trust not only in the men by whom our national policy is controlled, but also in the very principles upon which our Government rests. Both State and National legislatures are looked upon with nervous suspicion, and we hail an adjournment of Congress as a temporary immunity from danger."

Proceeding to the consideration of causes, the essayist notes a disposition "to cast discredit upon that principle, the establishment of which has been regarded as America's greatest claim to political honor—the right of every man to a voice in the government under which he lives." But he protests against the attempt to make universal suffrage the scapegoat of our grievances and he contends that the true cause lies in the defective organization of public authority.

"Congress is a deliberative body in which there is little real deliberation; a legislature which legislates with no real discussion of its business. Our Government is practically carried on by irresponsible committees. Too few Americans take

the trouble to inform themselves as to the methods of Congressional management; and, as a consequence, not many have perceived that almost absolute power has fallen into the hands of men whose irresponsibility prevents the regulation of their conduct by the people from whom they derive their authority."

The parceling of legislative initiative among standing committees, a system peculiar to the United States, is due to the fact that the executive has no means of proposing and explaining measures directly to Congress.

"There is no one in Congress to speak for the nation. Congress is a conglomeration of inharmonious elements; a collection of men representing each his neighborhood, each his local interest; an alarmingly large proportion of its legislation is 'special'; all of it is at best only a limping compromise between the conflicting interests of the innumerable localities represented. There is no guiding or harmonizing power. Are the people in favor of a particular policy—what means have they of forcing it upon the sovereign legislature at Washington? None but the most imperfect.

If they return representatives who favor it (and this is the most they can do), these representatives, being under no directing power, will find a mutual agreement impracticable among so many, and will finally settle upon some policy which satisfies nobody, removes no difficulty, and makes little definite or valuable provision for the future."

The remedy for this situation, he urges, is to establish cabinet responsibility.

"When carrying out measures thrust upon them by committees, administrative officers can throw off all sense of responsibility; and the committees are safe from punishment, safe even from censure, whatever the issue. But in administering laws which have passed under the influence of their own open advocacy, ministers must shoulder the responsibilities and face the consequences. . . . The Executive is in constant need of legislative coöperation; the legislative must be aided by an Executive who is in a position intelligently and vigorously to execute its acts. There must needs be, therefore, as a binding link between them, some body which has no power to coerce the

one and is interested in maintaining the independent effectiveness of the other. Such a link is the responsible cabinet."

After getting his A.B. degree from Princeton in 1879, Woodrow Wilson matriculated in the law school of the University of Virginia in the autumn of the same year. While there he applied himself diligently to forensic training. He developed his voice by joining the chapel choir and the glee club. He was active in the Jeffersonian Society, and won its gold medal for oratory. The University of Virginia magazine for March, 1880, contains a report of an oration on John Bright, which Wilson delivered before the Jeffersonian Society; and the number for April contains an essay on Gladstone, signed "Atticus," which was Wilson's pen name in writing for college periodicals.

Just before Christmas, 1880, Wilson left the University of Virginia and returned home. Too great concentration upon study, and insufficient diversion, had brought on attacks of indigestion, to recover from which change of scene was necessary. During the ensuing year he remained at

his home in Wilmington, resting, reading, exercising, and restoring his health. In May, 1882, he went to Atlanta to begin the practice of law. In that year Atlanta received a visit from a tariff commission created by Congress and Wilson was among the witnesses who appeared before it. He spoke in behalf of free trade, with a qualification which he thus stated:

"No man with his senses about him would recommend perfect freedom of trade in the sense that there should be no duties whatever laid on imports. The only thing that free traders contend for is, that there shall be only so much duty laid as will be necessary to defray the expenses of the Government, reduce the public debt, and leave a small surplus for accumulation. But that surplus should be so small that it will not lead to jobbery and corruption of the worst sort."

Wilson had not been attracted to Atlanta by any personal associations but simply because the city was growing so rapidly that it seemed to offer a promising field for a young practitioner. As matters turned out it did not give an opening to Wilson. He formed a partnership with an-

other young lawyer, waited for clients who did not come, and meanwhile went on with the studies of jurisprudence and politics that interested him so deeply. Along with those studies went an increasing conviction that they would not be favored by the ordinary employments of a practicing lawyer, and also that their continuance would not aid him in getting business. Such considerations had their final issue in a determination to quit the practice of law in order to become a professed student and educator in the field of jurisprudence. Johns Hopkins University was at that time making a strong appeal to the South as an institution for postgraduate work, and he went into residence there in the autumn of 1883. The following year he was appointed to a fellowship in history. He spent two years at Johns Hopkins University, during which he finished a thesis, upon the acceptance of which the degree of Ph.D. was conferred upon him, in 1886. His career at Johns Hopkins was brilliantly successful. He made a strong impression upon his associates, both by his intellectual power and by his personal traits. He acquired the sort of reputation in

university circles that marks one as a coming man and puts one forward for academic preferment. The call, indeed, came before he had taken his doctor's degree, and he left Johns Hopkins to join the faculty of Bryn Mawr College in 1885. But such was the appreciation of the university authorities that they arranged to keep him still associated with their work through a visiting lectureship to which he was appointed in 1887. His two years at Johns Hopkins closed the pupillary stage of his career. It was rather protracted, as he was in his thirtieth year before he had finished his preparatory studies and was fairly launched in his career as an educator. But it soon turned out that the delay had not been disadvantageous, for he had laid down broad and solid foundations upon which he now rapidly erected a commanding reputation.

CHAPTER II

HIS CAREER AS AN EDUCATOR

IN entering upon the career of an educator, Doctor Wilson at the same time entered upon a period of intense activity. It was as if the preparatory stage had been employed in assembling materials and in setting up apparatus whose products now came forth in remarkable quantity and variety. Lectures, public addresses, books and essays, closely stud the record of the ensuing years. These varied activities went on concurrently, but for convenience of examination they will be dealt with best by classes, and the present chapter will be devoted to a consideration of his work as an educator.

His original appointment at Bryn Mawr College in 1885 was that of an associate in history. The following year he became associate professor of history and political science. In 1888 he accepted a call to the chair of history and political economy at Wesleyan University, and in 1890 he

was called to the chair of jurisprudence at Princeton University. In addition to the work of these chairs he delivered a lecture course at Johns Hopkins University, and he was lecturer on constitutional law at the New York Law School. His work in history, jurisprudence, and politics was amply recognized by the academic world. The degree of LL.D. was conferred upon him by Lake Forest College in 1887, by Tulane University in 1898, by Johns Hopkins University in 1901, and Yale University conferred upon him the degree of Litt.D. in 1901. He was elected president of Princeton University in 1902, and since then has received additional degrees.

Doctor Wilson's literary activities were what first brought him into public notice, but those pursuits were not so engrossing as to prevent him from giving thoughtful consideration to educational problems. As soon as his position in the academic world was solidly established, addresses upon educational topics became a marked feature of his activities. In 1893 he delivered an address at the International Congress of Education at Chicago on the question of whether an antecedent

liberal education ought to be required of students in law, medicine, and theology. This address affords an instance of his facility in getting at the heart of a subject. He began by observing:

"We shall, I think, escape entanglements if we note at the very outset the two-fold aspect of the subject. It may be discussed from the point of view of the individual who is seeking professional instruction as a means of gaining a livelihood, or from the point of view of society itself, which must wish to be well served by its professional classes. The community will doubtless be inclined to demand more education than the individual will be willing to tarry for before entering on the practice of his profession. To which shall we give greater weight, the self-interest of the individual, or the self-interest of the community?"

The issue could hardly have been more concisely or more exactly stated, and the ground was cleared at once for an illuminating discussion of the professional value of a liberal education, pointing out the need and also the existing inappreciation of it. He remarked:

"The practical side of this question is certainly a very serious one in this country. That there should be an almost absolute freedom of occupation is a belief very intimately and tenaciously connected with the democratic theory of government, and our legislators are very slow to lay many restrictions upon it. Our colleges and universities, and our law and medical and theological schools have seldom endowment enough to render them independent of popular demands and standards. They are wholly independent, however, of each other, and cannot be constrained to accept any common scheme or standard. Even if the public had made up its mind very definitely on this subject, no means are at hand to facilitate concerted action. Reform must come piecemeal, and by example; not all at once and by authority. The remedy for the present state of affairs in this country seems to me to lie in resolute independent experiment by individual institutions. Let leading universities and colleges that have or can get money enough to make them free to act without too much regard to outside criticism, first erect professional schools upon a new model of

scholarship, and then close the doors of those schools to all who have not a first-rate college training."

It is on those very lines that the effort to improve professional qualifications in this country is now being carried on.

At the meeting of the American Bar Association at Saratoga Springs, August 23, 1894, Doctor Wilson delivered an address on legal education. This, as it was for a special audience, went into technical detail, but in the main it was a plea for breadth of preparation. Here is a typical paragraph:

"To take a definite example, in order to make my meaning clearer, it is a favorite idea of mine that commercial law should be taught along with the history of commerce, which will make it plain what gave rise to the relations of business with which the law deals, how the forms of commercial negotiation and of commercial paper came into existence, and how statutes and all the imperative regulations of the law have come after the fact, fixing obligations already habitually recognized, or at any rate ready to be put into form, and so

simply serving merchants, not inventing transactions for them. One portion of our law we already study in this way—the law of real property. It has retained forms and phrases which we cannot understand without turning back to examine the feudal system and the social conditions of the middle ages; and so we are happily obliged to give heed to its genesis. We ought to do the same for every portion of the law."

In an article contributed to the *Forum* for September, 1894, he considered the relation of university training to citizenship. In this he had something to say on the relative values of a classical training and a scientific, and also as regards national ideal in the character of a university. Truth is without geographical boundary, but there can be a national selection of truth.

"In order to be national, a university should have, at the center of all its training, courses of instruction in that literature which contains the ideals of its race and all the nice proofs and subtle inspiration of the character, spirit, and thought of the nation which it serves; and, besides that, instruction in the history and leading conceptions of

those institutions which have served the nation's energies in the preservation of order and the maintenance of just standards of civil virtue and public purpose. These should constitute the common training of all its students, as the only means of schooling their spirits for their common life as citizens. For the rest, they might be free to choose what they would learn. . . .

"The world in which we live is troubled by many voices, seeking to proclaim righteousness and judgment to come; but they disturb without instructing us. . . . There is no corrective for it all like a wide acquaintance with the best books that men have written, joined with a knowledge of the institutions men have made trial of in the past; and for each nation there is its own record of mental experience and political experiment. Such a record always sobers those who read it. It also steadies the nerves. If all educated knew it, it would be as if they had had a revelation. They could stand together and govern, with open eyes and the gift of tongues which other men could understand. Here is like wild talk and headlong passion for reform in the past,—here in

the books,—with all the motives that underlay the perilous utterance now laid bare: these are not new terrors and excitements. Neither need the wisdom be new, nor the humanity, by which they shall be moderated and turned to righteous ends. There is old experience in these matters, or rather in these states of mind. It is no new thing to have economic problems and dream dreams of romantic and adventurous social reconstruction. And so it is out of books that we can get our means and our self-possession for a sane and systematic criticism of life."

The concluding paragraph of this essay is particularly interesting in that it foreshadowed a reform which he eventually had the opportunity of making:

"The serious practical question is, How are all the men of a university to be made to read English literature widely and intelligently, as this plan presupposes? For it is reading, not set lectures, that will prepare a soil for culture: the inside of books, and not talk about them; though there must be the latter also, to serve as a chart and guide to the reading. The difficulty is not in

reality very great. A considerable number of young tutors, serving their novitiate for full university appointments, might easily enough effect an organization of the men that would secure the reading. Taking them in groups of manageable numbers, suggesting the reading of each group, and by frequent interviews and quizzes seeing that it was actually done, explaining and stimulating as best they might by the way, they could not only get the required tasks performed, but relieve them of the hateful appearance of being tasks, and cheer and enrich the whole life of the university."

Here we have the essential character of the Princeton preceptorial system, stated by Doctor Wilson eight years before his election as president of the university put him in a position to introduce that system.

In his address on "Princeton in the Nation's Service," delivered at the Princeton sesquicentennial celebration, October 21, 1896, he went into the matter of educational ideals with an emphasis that resounded in current literature. It was published in full in the *Forum* for December, 1896,

but liberal extracts appeared in *Science,* the *Review of Reviews, Electrical Engineering,* and the *Popular Science Monthly,* as well as in the newspaper press. There had been a strong tendency to make science the leading intellectual discipline, even to the extent of superseding the older cultural apparatus. Doctor Wilson took advantage of a conspicuous occasion to utter a criticism upon this tendency and a warning against its perils. He said:

"I have no laboratory but the world of books and men in which I live; but I am much mistaken if the scientific spirit of the age is not doing us a disservice, working in us a certain great degeneracy. Science has bred in us a spirit of experiment and a contempt for the past. It has made us credulous of quick improvement, hopeful of discovering panaceas, confident of success in every new thing. . . . It has given us agnosticism in the realm of philosophy, scientific anarchism in the field of politics. . . .

"Let me say once more, this is not the fault of the scientist; he has done his work with an intelligence and success which cannot be too much ad-

mired. It is the work of the noxious, intoxicating gas which has somehow got into the lungs of the rest of us from out the crevices of his workshop—a gas, it would seem, which forms only in the outer air, and where men do not know the right use of their lungs. I should tremble to see social reform led by men who had breathed it; I should fear nothing better than utter destruction from a revolution conceived and led in the scientific spirit. Science has not changed the laws of social growth and betterment. Science has not changed the nature of society, has not made history a whit easier to understand, human nature a whit easier to reform. It has won for us a great liberty in the physical world, a liberty from superstitious fear and from disease, a freedom to use nature as a familiar servant; but it has not freed us from ourselves. It has not purged us of passion or disposed us to virtue. It has not made us less covetous or less ambitious or less self-indulgent. On the contrary, it may be suspected of having enhanced our passions, by making wealth so quick to come, so fickle to stay. It has wrought such instant, incredible improvement in all the physical

setting of our life, that we have grown the more impatient of the unreformed condition of the part it has not touched or bettered, and we want to get at our spirits and reconstruct them in like radical fashion by like processes of experiment. We have broken with the past and have come into a new world.

"Can anyone wonder, then, that I ask for the old drill, the old memory of times gone by, the old schooling in precedent and tradition, the old keeping of faith with the past, as a preparation for leadership in days of social change?"

On October 13, 1899, he delivered an address at Cambridge, Massachusetts, before the New England Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools on "Spurious versus Real Patriotism in Education." The point he urged was that while patriotism expresses itself in sentiment, it does not consist of sentiment but is a principle of devotion to the true interests of its object.

"We have forgotten the very principle of our origin if we have forgotten how to object, how to resist, how to agitate, how to pull down and build up, even to the extent of revolutionary practices

if it be necessary, to readjust matters. I have forgotten my history if that be not true history. When I see schoolrooms full of children, going through genuflections to the flag of the United States, I am willing to bend the knee if I be permitted to understand what history has written upon the folds of that flag. If you will teach the children what the flag stands for, I am willing that they should go on both knees to it. But they will get up with opinions of their own; they will not get up with the opinions of those who are instructing them. They will get up critical. They will get up determined to have opinions of their own. They will know that this is a flag of liberty of opinion, as well as of political liberty in questions of organization."

The address went on to consider to what extent and by what means patriotism should be taught in the schools and dwelt upon the necessity of instructed opinion and critical judgment, in the teacher, in respect of our history and our institutions.

His inaugural address as president of Princeton University was delivered on October 25, 1902.

In this he made a mature and comprehensive statement of educational views that he had formed and expressed through his observation and experience as a student and as a college professor. During those years there had been a marked set of educational opinion against the old classical discipline and in favor of the substitution of scientific branches. At the same time there was a tendency toward granting entire freedom of choice in university studies, upon the theory that any branch of knowledge pursued to its depths would involve all knowledge. Doctor Wilson was an opponent of these tendencies and their attendant relaxation of standards. These tendencies are now stayed and in this respect Princeton's example has been very influential. When Doctor Wilson became president of the university the problem was to maintain the old standards and yet broaden the curriculum so as to meet the needs of a modern university. Although the university is for the few rather than for the many, it has a democratic function to perform in supplying organizers and leaders for a democratic government. Speaking of this, he said:

"The college is not for the majority who carry forward the common labor of the world, nor even for those who work at the skilled handicrafts which multiply the conveniences and the luxuries of the complex modern life. It is for the minority who plan, who conceive, who superintend, who mediate between group and group, and who must see the wide stage as a whole. Democratic nations must be served in this wise no less than those whose leaders are chosen by birth and privilege; and the college is no less democratic because it is for those who play a special part. . . .

"There are two ways of preparing a young man for his life work. One is to give him the skill and special knowledge which shall make a good tool, an excellent bread-winning tool, of him; and for thousands of young men that way must be followed. It is a good way. It is honorable. It is indispensable. But it is not for the college, and it never can be. The college should seek to make the men whom it receives something more than excellent servants of a trade or skilled practitioners of a profession. It should give them elasticity of faculty and breadth of vision, so that

they shall have a surplus of mind to expend, not upon their profession only, for its liberalization and enlargement, but also upon the broader interests which lie about them, in the spheres in which they are to be, not breadwinners merely, but citizens as well, and in their own hearts, where they are to grow to the stature of real nobility. It is this free capital of mind the world most stands in need of,—this free capital that awaits investment in undertakings, spiritual as well as material, which advance the race and help all men to a better life."

In considering the relative value of different branches of study, he held that the classical languages of antiquity were still unsurpassed as a discipline for the mind.

"But they are disciplinary only because of their definiteness and their established method; and they take their determinateness from their age and perfection. It is their age and completeness that render them so serviceable and so suitable for the first processes of education. By this means the boy is informed of the bodies of knowledge which are not experimental but settled, definitive,

fundamental. This is the stock upon which time out of mind all the thoughtful world has traded. These have been food of the mind for long generations. . . .

"Drill in mathematics stands in the same category with familiar knowledge of the thought and speech of classical antiquity, because in them also we get the life-long accepted discipline of the race, the processes of pure reasoning which lie at once at the basis of science and at the basis of philosophy, grounded upon observation and physical fact and yet abstract and of the very stuff of the essential processes of the mind, a bridge between reason and nature. Here, too, as in the classics, is a definitive body of knowledge and of reason, a discipline which has been made test of through long generations, a method of thought which has in all ages steadied, perfected, enlarged, strengthened, and given precision to the powers of the mind. Mathematical drill is an introduction of the boy's mind to the most definitely settled rational experience of the world."

The old discipline of Greek, Latin, mathematics, and English no longer comprises the funda-

mental studies. Science is indispensable to a liberal education. But special developments of science, still involved in controversy, do not constitute the proper subject matter of general education. Undoubtedly the fundamental sciences are physics, chemistry, and biology, and they are entitled to a place at the foundation of liberal training. Geology and astronomy also have their place in general culture, in their exhibition of nature in the mass and system of her structure.

"And when we have added to these the manifold discipline of philosophy, the indispensable instructions of history, and the enlightenments of economic and political study, and to these the modern languages which are the tools of scholarship, we stand confused. How are we to marshal this host of studies within a common plan which shall not put the pupil out of breath. No doubt we must make choice among them, and suffer the pupil himself to make choice. But the choice that we make must be the chief choice, the choice the pupil makes the subordinate choice. . . . We must supply the synthesis and must see to it that, whatever group of studies the student selects, it

shall at least represent the round whole, contain all the elements of modern knowledge, and be itself a complete circle of general subjects."

The principles of educational control stated in this address have deeply influenced American university methods. At the time they were formulated they antagonized current tendencies; since then there has been a reaction towards the system of modified choice exemplified by Princeton. A revision of studies took place during Doctor Wilson's presidency, which, while retaining the old standards, enlarged the curriculum in adaptation to those standards. To obtain the A.B. degree, the study of Greek is still essential, which in these times has become rather a Princeton peculiarity; but there is a Litt.B. degree which does not call for Greek, and is largely taken by students for whose purposes Latin is sufficient. The studies pursued in the first two years are embraced in prescribed courses; but when pupils become upperclassmen they obtain opportunities of individual election. They can choose a department in which to pursue a majority of the required courses, and they can complete the number

by making their own choice of courses in other departments. This system of group electives is now quite general in American universities. It would be too much to say that Princeton originated it; but it is quite within bounds to say that the example of Princeton was widely influential in making it systematic.

On November 29, 1902, less than a month after he stated his educational ideals in assuming the presidency of Princeton, Doctor Wilson delivered an address before the Commercial Club of Chicago, on the "Relation of University Education to Commerce." The address touched upon the topics of the day, and it had the sparkle and allusiveness of extemporaneous utterance. He remarked:

"I have already said that it does not seem to me any part of a university function to give men a business education, to teach them, that is to say, the methods of the business office. There is no touch of the university in that. It always must do something very different from that. I have no doubt that technical schools of various sorts are extremely serviceable, but technical schools of the

narrow sort do not seem to me appropriate parts of a university: We are apt to forget, gentlemen, that the university is not intended for everybody. The principle of power is a principle of differentiation. We are in danger just now of supposing that a university must include every kind of education, and we are apt to lose distinctions of thought and efficiency of result by confusing one sort of education with another. There must be various sorts of education, and when I say that the field of the university is set apart and peculiar, I am not meaning to imply that it is better, that it is more noble, that it is more dignified than other fields of education. I believe—as every man born on this soil, I take it, must believe—that the dignity of toil with the hands, provided the heart goes into the work, provided the conscience gets translated into the product, is enough to dignify any man and give him a touch of nobility. There is no comparison in point of nobility; there ought to be no attempt to compare, in point of nobility of work, the work of the head and the work of the hands. It is not a question of nobility; it is a question of division of labor, of the

separation of functions. It is a question of that differentiation upon which the efficiency of the modern world depends. . . . And the idea of a university education is different from the idea of a technical education. It seems to me that the thing that the university must do is to make men acquainted with the world intellectually, imaginatively."

An idea which formed in Doctor Wilson's mind with increasing power during his experience as student and teacher was the need of a more intimate and effectual contact between teacher and pupil than is afforded by lecture courses. The established method was the delivery of lectures upon which the students took notes. The chief function of the lecture was therefore to impart information, and to give the information in sufficient detail and with precise statement it was generally the case that lectures would be written out and read. This indeed has been the general practice of the academic world, fortified in the United States by the practice of German universities to which hosts of American students have resorted, deriving thence laboratory and classroom meth-

ods for use at home. But unless one is specially interested in the subject nothing is harder than to give one's attention to what is read. The thought wanders and students physically present are nevertheless far away in the action of their minds. A practical outcome of the situation was that in numerous cases little or no attention would be given to the subject until the examinations were at hand, and then there would be a brisk traffic in lecture notes and syllabi among the students. Mere cramming to pass examinations did not secure that familiarity with the subject which Doctor Wilson had in view as an educational process, and one of the first matters he took in hand was to make conferences rather than lectures the chief informational agency. On December 13, 1902, he outlined his views to a meeting of Princeton alumni in New York City.

He spoke extemporaneously, and at times engaged in colloquy, so that the affair was rather more of a free conference than a formal address. In its course, he remarked:

"There are different sorts of subjects in a curriculum, let me remind you; there are drill sub-

jects, which I suppose are mild forms of torture, but to which every man must submit. So far as my own experience is concerned, the natural carnal man never desires to learn mathematics. We know by a knowledge of the history of the race that it is necessary by painful processes of drill to insert mathematics into a man's constitution; he cannot be left to get up mathematics for himself because he cannot do it. There are some drill subjects which are just as necessary as measles in order to make a man a grown-up person; he must have gone through those things in order to qualify himself for the experiences of life; he must have crucified his will and got up things which he did not intend to get up and reluctantly was compelled to get up. That I believe is necessary for the salvation of his soul. But there are other subjects, those subjects which are out of the field of the ordinary school curriculum and which I may perhaps be permitted to say are more characteristic in their kind of the university study. They are what I call the reading subjects, like philosophy, like literature, like law, like history. In those subjects it is futile to try to instruct men

by mere classroom methods. The only way to instruct them is to provide a certain number of men sufficiently qualified as instructors, as scholars, who will be the companions and coaches and guides of the men's reading. . . .

"Gentlemen, if we could get a body of such tutors at Princeton we could transform the place from a place where there are youngsters doing tasks to a place where there are men doing thinking, men who are conversing about the things of thought, men who are eager and interested in the things of thought; we know that, because we have done it on a small scale. Wherever you have a small class and they can be intimately associated with their chief in the study of an interesting subject, they catch the infection of the subject; but where they are in big classes and simply hear a man lecture two or three times a week, they cannot catch the infection of anything, except it may be the voice and enthusiasm of the lecturer himself. This is the way in which to transform the place."

This describes the purpose of the preceptorial system introduced during Doctor Wilson's ad-

ministration at Princeton. Its effects have been marked in raising the standards of scholarship. It is impossible for a pupil to escape the educational influence of the system, for every week he must meet a preceptor for conference upon assigned reading in the subject of the course. If he does not attend such conferences he is debarred from examinations; if he does attend he is subject to a steady and regular informational process. The term grade which a pupil obtains from his attendance on these conferences and the part he takes in them, counts for more in his standing than examination results. The system reacts upon the character of the lectures. As they have become of minor importance as a means of imparting information, they have tended to become rather a source of inspiration and enlightenment. Instead of a read dissertation, they have become familiar talks to the students, calling attention to the bearing and significance of particular phases of the subject, for details upon which they must have recourse to their textbooks. Doctor Wilson himself lectured to classes of juniors on constitutional government and jurisprudence. He pre-

pared a printed syllabus for the use of his students, and he prescribed a course of reading on which they had weekly conferences with their preceptors. His own lectures were expository, making frequent use of illustrative instances drawn from current events. In an address to a gathering of school teachers, he once remarked: "It is one of the privileges of a teacher, I think, to be bored, himself, with his own lecture and to allow himself to depart once and again from the course of the lecture in order to tell a story which has more or less connection with what he is saying." Dr. Wilson often availed himself of that privilege. His students were too intent upon listening to him to give attention to making notes, and in general there has been a marked decline in the practice of taking lecture notes since the preceptorial system has been introduced.

On November 29, 1907, Doctor Wilson delivered an address before the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the Middle States and Maryland, in which he discussed the relations of school and college and gave sharp expression to his ideas of the bad effects of the

withdrawal of systematic control from higher education. He remarked:

"We have just passed through a period in education when everything seemed in process of dissolution, when all standards were removed, when there was a universal dispersion of every established conception; when men did not hold themselves to plans, but opened the whole field, as if you drew a river out of its course and invited it to spread abroad over the countryside. . . . You know perfectly well what the result has been; you know that the children of the past two or three decades in our schools have not been educated. You know that the pupils in the colleges in the last several decades have not been educated. You know that with all our teaching we train nobody; you know that with all our instructing we educate nobody. . . .

"I wish to state these things, if need be, in an extravagant form, in order to have you realize that we are upon the eve of a period of reconstruction. We are upon the eve of a period when we are going to set up standards. We are upon the eve of a period of synthesis, when tired of this

dispersion and standardless analysis, we are going to put things together into something like a connected and thought-out scheme of endeavor."

This address, which was a long and thoughtful consideration of the subject, urged the point that after all the chief object of education is discipline. Many other citations might be made, as his addresses to educational associations were numerous, but sufficient has been given to indicate his views. Notice, however, should not be omitted of the fact that he regarded religion as an integral part of a sound educational system, an affirmation which is a marked Princeton characteristic. References to this matter frequently occurred in his public addresses and in some instances it constituted the main theme. On October 13, 1904, he delivered an address to the fortieth annual convention of the Pennsylvania State Sabbath School Association, at Pittsburg, on "The Young People and the Church." In it he said that no knowledge is of any particular consequence in this world unless it is incarnate. All the wise saws and prudent maxims and pieces of information that we

supply to the generation coming on are of no consequence whatever in themselves unless they get into the blood and are transmuted.

"And so of religion. Religion is communicable, I verily believe, aside from the sacred operations of the Holy Spirit, only by example. . . . When we say that the way to get young people into the church is to make the church interesting, I am afraid we too often mean that the way to do it is to make it entertaining. Did you ever know the most excellent concert, or series of concerts, to be the means of revolutionizing a life? Did you ever know any amount of entertainment to go further than hold for the hour that it lasted? If you mean to draw young people by entertainment there is only one excuse for it, and that is to follow up the entertainment with something that is not entertaining, but which grips the heart like the touch of a hand. I dare say that there is some excuse for alluring persons to a place where good will be done them, but I think it would be a good deal franker not to allure them. I think it would be a great deal better simply to let them understand that that is the place where

life is dispensed, and that if they want life they must come to that place."

Doctor Wilson's baccalaureate address to the graduating class, June 9, 1907, was a sermon on the text: "And be not conformed to this world: but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is the good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God." Rom. xii:2.

The theme exhibited in various aspects in this address was that all individual human life, when rightly understood and conducted, is a struggle against yielding in weak accommodation to the changeful, temporary, ephemeral things about us, in order that we may catch that permanent, authentic tone of life which is the voice of the Spirit of God. This sermon has been published as a booklet, entitled "The Free Life."

CHAPTER III

HIS BOOKS AND ESSAYS

THE Princeton University library has a bibliography of the published writings and addresses of Woodrow Wilson from the time he entered Princeton as a student to the time he left it to become governor of New Jersey. This bibliography is admitted to be incomplete, but it contains seventy-five entries for the twenty-five years intervening between his matriculation as a student and his installation in the presidency of the University. His career as a man of letters falls almost wholly within that period. During it all his books, with one exception, were written.

In examining this literary output one is impressed with the evidence it affords of sustained industry and concentration of purpose. The intellectual interests which it reveals extend in unbroken continuity from his undergraduate days. When he gave up the practice of law to continue his studies in history and jurisprudence his

literary activities centered about the same subject that he had discussed in his *International Review* article. In January, 1884, his essay on "Committee or Cabinet Government," in which there was a detailed examination of Congressional procedure, appeared in the *Overland Monthly*. Both these articles were preliminary studies leading up to a systematic treatise published in 1885, with the title "Congressional Government: A Study in American Politics." It was submitted to Johns Hopkins University as the thesis required among the conditions on which the Ph.D. degree was granted, but it differed widely from the ordinary thesis, which rarely makes its way out of academic records into the general field of literature, in that it took rank at once as a political classic. It was issued in book form by a publishing house and passed rapidly through numerous editions, a new one being called for nearly every year. Up to 1912 twenty-four impressions of this work had been printed. In American literature it occupies a place like that of Bagehot's treatise in English literature. In vivacity and incisiveness of style it equals Bagehot's work and

perhaps excels it in literary charm. In structure there is no basis of comparison as the American publicist had to deal with a peculiar set of problems which never were presented to Bagehot, and the only point on which there is identity of method is that the treatment goes directly to the realities of the case. The traditional treatment was to start with things as they ought to be, and to view the Constitution from the standpoint of theory. The new treatment was to start with things as they really are, and to view the Constitution from the standpoint of practice. The conventional method was to begin with an account of the constitutional scheme as inferable from the intentions of the Fathers. Wilson began with an examination of the way in which the public business is actually transacted. The book is an analysis of legislative procedure, exhibiting the part in it taken respectively by the House of Representatives, the Senate, and the Executive. A novel feature of the work was the disclosure of the secret springs of action coiled in the system of standing committees, now for the first time shown to be the principal working parts of the actual Constitu-

tion, although altogether ignored by traditional constitutional theory.

The publication of "Congressional Government" coincides with the beginning of Woodrow Wilson's career as an educator. He now became busy preparing lecture courses, organizing classes, and engaging in the varied activities that so easily consume a college professor's time unless he seizes and retains mastery over his inclinations. A seductive solution of the problem to a man of scholarly tastes is to become a reticent, self-absorbed solitary. But affability was hereditary with Wilson, and by birth and training he had the cordiality of manner that is a Southern trait. He was much too fond of social intercourse ever to become a scholastic recluse, and in his case the problem was solved by such an economical management of his time that while he seemed to have plenty of leisure he was able to give steady application to his literary tasks. He had become the master-workman who does not lose time by false motions but makes all his strokes tell. His sustained interest in the problems of American government was evinced by a series of magazine ar-

Woodrow Wilson, Age 41

The picture was taken in 1897 while he was a professor in Princeton University

ticles, every year adding to the number. Some of these exhibited new facets of the particular theme to which his thought had been constant since his undergraduate days, presenting the same order of thought with fresh brilliancy of statement. These essays eventually supplied most of the matter of two books: "An Old Master and Other Political Essays," published in 1893, and "Mere Literature," published in 1896.

Concurrently with this literary output he was making close studies of political structure and function in various countries, originally for use in his lectures upon political science. Their first literary form was that of a syllabus for classroom use, but this was gradually expanded into a text-book upon government, first published in 1889, with the title, "The State: Elements of Historical and Practical Politics." This is a comprehensive manual, tracing government to its origins and describing its ancient, medieval, and modern types. The actual organization of public authority is its theme, and in dealing with the modern period a detailed account is given of the mechanism of government in France, Germany, Switzer-

land, Austria-Hungary, Sweden, Norway, England, and the United States. It was a pioneer work of this character and it established a department of political science to which many important contributions, facilitating the study of constitutional documents and actual governmental procedure, have since been made. The study of political science has been revolutionized by the historical method, and Wilson's manual was the first systematic embodiment of that method for school use in America. The work was revised and largely rewritten in 1898, and a new edition has been called for nearly every year. The section devoted to the United States has been separately issued as a school manual, and this too has passed through numerous editions.

Although "The State" is a voluminous work, covering a great tract of history, one may discern an organic connection between it and that political essay of his senior year. Viewing them as literary products the difference is great, but it is like the difference between the spreading oak and the little acorn in which the potentiality of that growth was once infolded. The plan of the man-

ual precluded anything like advocacy. Its purpose was wholly informative. But the section on "Relations of the Executive to Congress" gave an occasion for the expression of his views, put so concisely that it may be quoted in its entirety:

"The only provisions contained in the Constitution concerning the relation of the President to Congress are these: That 'he shall, from time to time, give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient'; and that 'he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them,' in extra sessions, 'and, in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper.' His power to inform Congress concerning the state of the Union and to recommend to it the passage of measures is exercised only in the sending of annual and special written 'messages.'

"Washington and John Adams interpreted the clause to mean that they might address Congress in person, as the sovereign in England may do;

their annual communications to Congress were spoken addresses. But Jefferson, the third President, being an ineffective speaker, this habit was discontinued and the fashion of written messages was inaugurated and firmly established. Possibly, had the President not so closed the matter against new adjustments, this clause of the Constitution might legitimately have been made the foundation for a much more habitual and informal, and yet at the same time much more public and responsible, interchange of opinion between the Executive and Congress. Having been interpreted, however, to exclude the President from any but the most formal and ineffectual utterance of perfunctory advice, our federal executive and legislature have been shut off from coöperation and mutual confidence to an extent to which no other modern system furnishes a parallel. In all other modern governments the heads of the administrative departments are given the right to sit in the legislative body and to take part in its proceedings. The legislature and executive are thus associated in such a way that the ministers of state can lead the houses without

dictating to them, and the ministers themselves be controlled without being misunderstood,—in such a way that the two parts of the government which should be most closely coördinated, the part, namely, by which the laws are made and the part by which the laws are executed, may be kept in close harmony and intimate coöperation, with the result of giving coherence to the action of the one and energy to the action of the other."

By this time Wilson had made for himself such an assured position in literature that his services were much in request by editors, and he produced a number of historical works in response to overtures. He prepared the third and concluding volume of a series entitled "Epochs of American History." It covered the period 1829-1889, with the title, "Division and Reunion." The first edition was issued in March, 1893, and another edition was gotten out in May. Three editions were issued the following year, and up to 1912 twenty-five editions had been issued. The work has been several times revised and remains in steady demand.

His historical labors were carried on concur-

rently with the producing of magazine and review articles and the making of occasional public addresses. An address on the course of American history, delivered at the semicentennial anniversary of the New Jersey Historical Society, Newark, New Jersey, May 16, 1895, made a profound impression upon its hearers and acquired prompt celebrity. The address is so closely knit, its parts so interdependent, that it is impossible to give a fair idea of it by extracts, and yet it is too important to be passed by with merely general notice. The address pointed out that the conventional method of writing American history was to treat it as an expansion of New England history. This view gives so fine an unity to our national epic that one almost wishes it were true. But perhaps, after all, the real truth is more interesting.

"What, in fact, has been the course of American history? How is it to be distinguished from European history? What features has it of its own, which give it its distinctive plan and movement? We have suffered, it is to be feared, a very serious limitation of view until recent years

by having all our history written in the East. It has smacked strongly of a local flavor. It has concerned itself too strongly with the origins and Old-World derivations of our story. Our historians have made their march from the sea with their heads over shoulder, their gaze always backward upon the landing places and homes of the first settlers. In spite of the steady immigration, with its persistent tide of foreign blood, they have chosen to speak often and to think always of our people as sprung after all from a common stock, bearing a family likeness in every branch, and following all the while old, familiar family ways. The view is the more misleading because it is so large a part of the truth without being all of it. The common British stock did first make the country, and has always set the pace. There were common institutions up and down the coast; and these had formed and hardened for a persistent growth before the great westward migration began which was to reshape and modify every element of our life.

"But, the beginnings once safely made, change set in apace. . . . Until they had turned their

backs once for all upon the sea; until they saw our western borders cleared of the French; until the mountain passes had grown familiar, and the lands beyond had become the central and constant theme of their hope, the goal and dream of their young men, they did not become an American people. . . . The 'West' is the great word of our history. The 'Westerner' has been the type and master of our American life."

The address closed with a detailed appreciation of the character of Abraham Lincoln. "You have in him the type and flower of our growth. It is as if Nature had made a typical American and then added with liberal hand the royal quality of genius, to show us what the type could be."

A long extract from this address was included in the anthology of "Modern Eloquence," edited by the then Speaker Reed; and a long extract was included in the "Library of the World's Best Literature," edited by Charles Dudley Warner, a compilation that includes other extracts from Wilson's essays and speeches.

In the same year in which this notable address was made, Wilson began a series of studies of

Washington's career, magazine publication beginning in January, 1896. This series was illustrated by Howard Pyle, Harry Fenn, and others, and as the artists were successful in catching the spirit of the text the whole made a handsomely embellished work which was issued in book form in 1897. In 1900 a large popular edition was issued. The work exhibits Washington in the proper setting of his own times. The reader does not have to glimpse him through the smoke of Fourth-of-July celebrations—a vague, grandiose figure—but sees him as he really was, Virginia country gentleman, frontier surveyor, and military commander. Half the work is devoted to Washington's career prior to the movement for national union. The War of Independence and of the setting up of the national government come into the story only as incidental to the personal theme, but this mode of treatment makes the work singularly vivid. It is a history of the times written as an epic, the events being grouped about one noble and elevated personality.

Among the magazine articles published in 1897 is an essay upon "Mr. Cleveland as Presi-

dent," which appeared in the March number of the *Atlantic Monthly* simultaneously with the close of Mr. Cleveland's career in what at the time looked like personal defeat and party calamity. This essay, which contains over eight thousand words, must have been composed while the passions of the conflict were still boiling hot, but one finds in it the measured judgment and calm detachment of the scientific historian. It begins by saying that it is much too early to assign to Mr. Cleveland his place in history.

"It is plain, however, that Mr. Cleveland has rendered the country great services, and that his singular independence and force of purpose have made the real character of the Government of the United States more evident than it ever was before. He had been the sort of President the makers of the Constitution had vaguely in mind: more man than partisan, with an independent will of his own; hardly a colleague of the Houses so much as an individual servant of the country; exercising his powers like a chief magistrate rather than like a party leader."

The essay proceeds to consider in detail the

leading measures of Cleveland's administration, and in reading it now after the lapse of many years one feels that Wilson's immediate estimate anticipated the final verdict of history. A telling portion of the essay is that which vindicated Mr. Cleveland against the censure of impatient reformers.

"Outsiders could not know whether the criticism cut or not; they only knew that the President did not falter or suffer his mind to be shaken. He had an enormous capacity for work, shirked no detail of his busy function, carried the Government steadily upon his shoulders. There is no antidote for worry to be compared with hard labor at important tasks which keep the mind stretched to large views; and the President looked upon himself as the responsible executive of the nation, not as the arbiter of policies. There is something in such a character that men of quick and ardent thought cannot like or understand. They want all capable men to be thinking, like themselves, along lines of active advance; they are impatient of performance which is simply thorough without also being regenerative, and Mr. Cleveland has

not commended himself to them. They themselves would probably not make good presidents. A certain tough and stubborn fiber is necessary, which does not easily change, which is unelastically strong."

The reader will observe the pertinence of these remarks to some of the criticisms that Mr. Wilson himself has had to endure since he became president. The passage quoted is evidence that long before he entered life and when the presidency was still an undreamed-of possibility, he had firmly grasped the principle that the first duty of a responsible statesman is to act, not in the spirit of an adventurer, or of an experimentalist, or even of a reformer, but in the spirit of a trustee. This noble and inspiring essay concluded with the following appreciation of Mr. Cleveland's personality:

"We need not pretend to know what history shall say of Mr. Cleveland; we need not pretend that we can draw any common judgment of the man from the confused cries that now ring everywhere from friend and foe. We know only that he has played a great part; that his greatness is

authenticated by the passion of love and hatred he has stirred up; that no such great personality has appeared in our politics since Lincoln; and that, whether greater or less, his personality is his own, unique in all the varied history of our Government. He has made policies and altered parties after the fashion of an earlier age in our history, and the men who assess his fame in the future will be no partisans, but men who love candor, courage, honesty, strength, unshaken capacity, and high purpose such as his."

In close succession to his masterly analysis of President Cleveland's administration, Mr. Wilson prepared an analysis of our governmental mechanism, which was published in the *Atlantic Monthly* for July, 1897, with the title, "The Making of the Nation." In this, as in so many of his political essays, one may observe the flowering of ideas originally formed in his undergraduate days. In this respect his career closely corresponds to that of James Madison, extending to such a minute particular as that each of these Princeton students acquired shorthand to facilitate his records. The dominating interest of each

was the study of politics, and both ransacked the Princeton library for food for that appetite. From such studies Madison acquired the extensive knowledge of political history that he applied to the drafting of our national Constitution and poured forth in the essays collected in the *Federalist*. A like pertinacity and industry in giving practical application to conclusions reached through careful observation and assiduous study is the most outstanding feature of Wilson's career. In considering his books and essays one is impressed by the frequency with which the same theme is presented and also by the continual freshness of the presentation. The theme itself was so copious as to admit of great variety of treatment, but the way in which the possibilities were utilized indicates an unflagging interest in the subject and an unquenchable ardor in studies upon it.

"The Making of the Nation" is a survey of the whole course of our constitutional development. It is an article, about ten thousand words in length, particularly interesting in its clear presentation of political problems and in its indication

of the means of solving them. The following is from the concluding portion:

"To the uninitiated Congress is simply a mass of individuals. It has no responsible leaders known to the system of government, and the leaders recognized by its rules are one set of individuals for one sort of legislation, another for another. The Secretaries cannot address or approach either House as a whole; in dealing with committees they are dealing only with groups of individuals; neither party has its leader,—there are only influential men here and there who know how to manage its caucuses and take advantage of parliamentary openings on the floor. . . .

"It is with such machinery that we are to face the future, find a wise and moderate policy, bring the nation to a common, a cordial understanding, a real unity of life. The President can lead only as he can command the ear of both Congress and the country,—only as any other individual might who could secure a like general hearing and acquiescence. Policy must come always from the deliberations of the House committees, the debates, both secret and open, of the Senate, the

compromises of committee conference between the Houses; no one man, no group of men, leading; no man, no group of men, responsible for the outcome. . . . We shall work out a remedy, for work it out we must. We must find or make, somewhere in our system, a group of men to lead us, who represent the nation in the origin and responsibility of their power; who shall draw the Executive, who makes choice of foreign policy and upon whose ability and good faith the honorable execution of the laws depends, into cordial coöperation with the legislature, which, under whatever form of government, must sanction law and policy. Only under a national leadership, by a national selection of leaders, and by a method of constructive choice rather than of compromise and barter, can a various nation be peacefully led. Once more is our problem of nation-making the problem of a form of government."

Wilson's political essays and historical writings were interspersed with more purely literary productions. His interests were broad, his reading took a wide range, his sociability brought to

him the varied stimulus of personal contacts, and his style had developed into a masterly instrument of expression adaptable to any literary purpose. An essay "On Being Human," published in the *Atlantic Monthly* for September, 1907, was widely quoted. The following passage has a present interest in its revelation of character:

"Let us remind ourselves that to be human is, for one thing, to speak and act with a certain note of genuineness, a quality mixed of spontaneity and intelligence. This is necessary for wholesome life in any age, but particularly amidst confused affairs and shifting standards. Genuineness is not mere simplicity, for that may lack vitality, and genuineness does not. We expect what we call genuine to have pith and strength of fiber. Genuineness is a quality which we sometimes mean to include when we speak of individuality. Individuality is lost the moment you submit to passing modes or fashions, the creations of an artificial society; and so is genuineness. No man is genuine who is forever trying to pattern his life after the lives of other people,—unless indeed he be a genuine dolt.

But individuality is by no means the same as genuineness; for individuality may be associated with the most extreme and even ridiculous eccentricity, while genuineness we conceive to be always wholesome, balanced and touched with dignity. It is a quality that goes with good sense and self-respect. It is a sort of robust moral sanity, mixed of elements both moral and intellectual. It is found in natures too strong to be mere trimmers and conformers, too well poised and thoughtful to fling off into intemperate protest and revolt."

"A Lawyer with a Style," contributed to the *Atlantic Monthly* for September, 1898, is an appreciation of the career of the philosophical jurist, Sir Henry Maine. Here is a passage which recalls the fact that Wilson had a legal education and is familiar with the juristic point of view:

"Persons who suppose that Maine's 'Ancient Law' is merely a textbook for lawyers will be very much and very delightfully surprised if they will take it down from the shelf and read it,—as much surprised as young law students are

who plunge into Blackstone because they must, and find to their astonishment that those deep waters are not a little refreshing, and that the law, after all, is no dismal science."

Consideration of Maine's "Popular Government" gives the essayist occasion for some comments upon democracy for which Maine had expressed profound distrust:

"But he is wrong—and the error is very radical—in supposing that democracy really rests on a theory, and is nothing but 'a form of government.' It is a form of character, where it is successful,—a form of national character; and is based, not upon a theory, but upon the steady evolutions of experience. . . . The stability of the Government of the United States is, he admits, 'a political fact of the first importance; but the inferences which might be drawn from it,' he says, 'are much weakened, if not destroyed, by the remarkable spectacle furnished by the numerous republics set up from the Mexican border-line to the Straits of Magellan.' The democracy of North America—to be found in Canada no less than in the United States—is as

natural, as normal, as inevitable a product of steady, equable, unbroken history as the Corpus Juris of Justinian; and the heady miscarriages of attempted democracy in Spanish countries are as easily and as satisfactorily explicable as the principles of contract or the history of inheritance by will. No champion of the comparative method of historical study ought to have discredited his own canons by comparing things incomparable."

Along with such literary labors Wilson continued his historical studies. In January, 1901, the *Atlantic Monthly* published his essay on "The Reconstruction of the Southern States," and *Harper's Magazine* for the same month published the first of a series entitled, "Colonies and Nation." This series was the leading feature of *Harper's Magazine* for over a year and a half, and was eventually published in book form as "A History of the American People," in five volumes, richly illustrated. The latest of his distinctly historical treatises was the chapter on "State Rights," prepared for the volume of the "Cambridge Modern History" devoted to the

United States. The chapter is long enough to form a treatise of itself, as it covers the important decade 1850-1860, and explains the causes of the Civil War.

After he took office as president of Princeton University, he was too much occupied by his administrative tasks, and also by the increased demand for his services as a public speaker, to continue the sustained application to literary tasks that had previously been his habit.

Contributions to the literary periodicals became less frequent but they did not cease altogether. He prepared for the fiftieth anniversary number of the *Atlantic Monthly,* November, 1907, an article on "Politics (1857-1907)." The period considered required a survey of the national life from an era of distress and perplexity over the slavery problem to an era of distress and perplexity over social and economic problems, and as the country has not yet emerged from the latter era, the essay has timely appositeness at the present day. After describing the vast scope of modern business organization, he continues:

"There is a great and apparently growing

body of opinion in the country which approves a radical change in the character of our institutions and the objects of our law, which wishes to see Government, and the Federal Government at that, regulate business. Some men who entertain this wish perceive that it is socialistic; some do not. But of course it is socialistic. Government cannot properly or intelligently regulate business without fully comprehending it in its details as well as in its larger aspects; it cannot comprehend it except through the instrumentality of expert commissions; it cannot use expert commissions long for purposes of regulation without itself by degrees undertaking actually to order and conduct what it began by regulating. We are at present on the highroad to Government ownership of many sorts, or to some other method of control which will in practice be as complete as actual ownership.

"On the other hand, there is a great body of opinion, slow to express itself, sorely perplexed in the presence of modern business conditions, but very powerful and upon the eve of an uprising, which prefers the older and simpler methods of

the law, prefers courts to commissions, and believes them, if properly used and adapted, better, more efficacious, in the end more purifying, than the new instrumentalities now being so unthinkingly elaborated. The country is still full of men who retain a deep enthusiasm for the old ideals of individual liberty, sobered and kept within bounds by the equally old definitions of personal responsibility, the ancient safeguards against license; and these men are right in believing that those older principles can be so used as to control modern business and keep government outside the pale of industrial enterprise. The law can deal with transactions instead of with methods of business, and with individuals instead of with corporations. It can reverse the process which creates corporations, and instead of compounding individuals, oblige corporations to analyze their organization and name the individuals responsible for each class of their transactions. The law, both civil and criminal, can clearly enough characterize transactions, can clearly enough determine what their consequences shall be to the individuals who engage in them in a responsible

capacity. New definitions in that field are not beyond the knowledge of modern lawyers or the skill of modern law-makers, if they will accept the advice of disinterested lawyers. We shall never moralize society by fining or even dissolving corporations; we shall only inconvenience it. We shall moralize it only when we make up our minds as to what transactions are reprehensible, and bring those transactions home to the individuals with the full penalties of the law."

In the *North American Review* for May, 1908, there is an article by Mr. Wilson on "The States and the Federal Government." He pointed out that the actual distribution of authority "is not, at bottom, a question of sovereignty or of any other political abstraction; it is a question of vitality.

"The old theory of the sovereignty of the States, which used to engage our passions, has lost its vitality. The war between the states established at least this principle, that the Federal Government is, through its courts, the final judge of its own powers. Since that stern arbitrament it would be idle, in any practical argument, to

ask by what law of abstract principle the Federal Government is bound and retained. Its power is 'to regulate commerce between the states,' and the attempts now made during every session of Congress to carry the implications of that power beyond the utmost boundaries of reasonable and honest inference show that the only limits likely to be observed by politicians are those set by the good sense and conservative temper of the country.

"The proposed Federal legislation with regard to the regulation of child labor affords a striking example. If the power to regulate commerce between the states can be stretched to include the regulation of labor in mills and factories, it can be made to embrace every particular of the industrial organization and action of the country.

"We are too apt to think that our American political system is distinguished by its central structure, by its President and Congress and courts, which the Constitution of the Union set up. As a matter of fact, it is distinguished by its local structure, by the extreme vitality of its parts. . . . The remedy for ill-considered legis-

lation by the states, the remedy alike for neglect and mistake on their part, lies, not outside the states, but within them. The mistakes which they themselves correct will sink deeper into the consciousness of their people than the mistakes which Congress may rush in to correct for them, thrusting upon them what they have not learned to desire. They will either themselves learn their mistakes, by such intimate and domestic processes as will penetrate very deep and abide with them in convincing force, or else they will prove that what might have been a mistake for other states or regions of the country was no mistake for them, and the country will have been saved its wholesome variety. In no case will their failure to correct their own measures prove that the Federal Government might have forced wisdom upon them."

The only book produced during Mr. Wilson's career as university president was his "Constitutional Government in the United States," issued by the Columbia University Press in 1908. This work was made up of lectures delivered at Columbia University from a schedule of topics upon

which Mr. Wilson spoke extemporaneously. The work as published was a revision of the stenographic report. In this book, which is the most complete expression of his political ideas, he considers the nature of constitutional government, the place of the United States in constitutional development, and the functions of the various organs of our Government. As to the Presidency he remarked:

"The makers of the Constitution seem to have thought of the President as what the stricter Whig theorists wished the King to be: only the legal executive, the presiding and guiding authority in the application of law and the execution of policy. His veto upon legislation was only his 'check' on Congress,—was a power of restraint, not of guidance. He was empowered to prevent bad laws, but he was not given an opportunity to make good ones. As a matter of fact he has become very much more. He has become the leader of his party and the guide of the nation in political purpose, and therefore in legal action. The constitutional structure of the Government has hampered and limited his action in

these significant rôles, but it has not prevented it."

The detailed examination of the characteristics of the House and the Senate, is extremely vivid and interesting; but to get a fair notion of it, it should be read in its entirety. In view of Mr. Wilson's present position the following passage is particularly interesting:

"The President has not the same recourse when blocked by the Senate that he has when opposed by the House. When the House declines his counsel he may appeal to the nation, and if public opinion respond to his appeal the House may grow thoughtful of the next congressional elections and yield; but the Senate is not so immediately sensitive to opinion and is apt to grow, if anything, more stiff if pressure of that kind is brought to bear upon it.

"But there is another course which the President may follow, and which one or two Presidents of unusual political sagacity have followed, with the satisfactory results that were to have been expected. He may himself be less stiff and offish, may himself act in the true spirit of the Constitution and establish intimate relations of confidence

with the Senate on his own initiative, not carrying his plans to completion and then laying them in final form before the Senate to be accepted or rejected, but keeping himself in confidential communication with the leaders of the Senate while his plans are in course, when their advice will be of service to him and his information of the greatest service to them, in order that there may be veritable counsel and a real accommodation of views instead of a final challenge and contest."

A curious incident of this lecture course was the effect produced by one of the humorous allusions so often made by Mr. Wilson when speaking extemporaneously. He was talking of the individual flavor of public opinion in rural countrysides, around comfortable stoves in crossroad stores, where discussion is as constant a pastime as checkers; and he made a passing reference to the incidental consumption of tobacco at such exercises. The allusion was featured in newspaper reports, and tobacco samples and tobacco literature suddenly became a feature of the mail of the Princeton president, who does not himself use tobacco in any form.

CHAPTER IV

ENTRANCE INTO PUBLIC LIFE

MR. WILSON'S public career has been coeval with his literary career. If either has priority it is rather his public career, for that was the original aim of his purpose in life, and intentional preparation for it began in his undergraduate days. His ability as a public speaker is not so much a matter of natural gifts, although he was well endowed in that respect, as it is a result of steady practice and cultivated method. Indeed, he had to contend with an oppressive nervous tension in rising to speak, and great as his oratorical resources have become, that physical condition has never been quite abolished. This, however, is a circumstance which orators have to endure much more than is commonly known. Both at Princeton and at the University of Virginia he cultivated his faculty for public speaking with a view to public service, and with characteristic thoroughness he gave

special attention to the mechanics of oratory. His voice has great carrying power not because it is so loud but because he speaks deliberately, articulates with perfect distinctness, and manages his respiration so that every syllable has full resonance. In turning aside from the practice of law to become an educator specializing in jurisprudence, he did not abate his predilections for a public career, nor did he decrease his attention to oratorical training and equipment. The literary production described in the previous chapter was interspersed with public addresses and lecture engagements. Of most of these no record remains. By the time his reputation had become such as to bring him many invitations to the lecture platform, his power of extemporaneous utterance had become so quick and flexible as to be immediately adaptable to any occasion, and his lectures had the easy, spontaneous flow of intimate conversation. From time to time, however, he made, upon some special topic, an address that has been preserved.

At the meeting of the Virginia State Bar Association, held at Hot Springs, Virginia,

beginning August 3, 1897, he made a frank exposition of his views on governmental structure. His topic was "Leaderless Government," by which, he said, "I mean to describe the Government of the United States.

"I do not believe it a necessary feature of our Government that we should be without leaders; neither do I believe that we shall continue to be without them; but as a matter of fact we are without them, and we ought to ask ourselves, why? I mean, of course, that we are without official leaders—without leaders who can be held immediately responsible for the action and policy of the Government, alike upon its legislative and upon its administrative side. Leaders of some sort we, of course, always have; but they come and go like phantoms, put forward as if by accident, withdrawn, not by our choice, but as if upon some secret turn of fortune which we neither anticipate nor as a nation control—some local quarrel, some obscure movement of politics within a single district, some manipulation of a primary or some miscarriage in a convention. They are not of the nation, but come and

go as if unbidden by any general voice. The Government does not put them forward, but groups of men formed we hardly know where, planning we hardly know what; the Government suffers no change when they disappear—that is the private affair of some single constituency and of the men who have supplanted them.

"The President may, no doubt, stand in the way of measures with a veto very hard to overleap; and we think oftentimes with deep comfort of the laws he can kill when we are afraid of the majority in Congress. Congressional majorities are doubtless swayed, too, by what they know the President will do with the bills they send him. But they are swayed sometimes one way and sometimes the other, according to the temper of the times and state of parties. They as often make his assured veto a pretext for recklessness as a reason for self-restraint. They take a sort of irresponsible and defiant pleasure in 'giving him the dare': in proposing things they know many people want and putting upon him the lonely responsibility of saying that they shall not have them. And if he stand for long in the

way of any serious party purpose, they heat opinion against him and make his position more and more unpleasant, until he either yields or is finally discredited. It is a game in which he has no means of attack and few effective weapons of defense.

"Of course he can send a message to Congress whenever he likes—the Constitution bids him to do so 'from time to time,' in order to 'give Congress information of the state of the Union, and to recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall deem necessary and expedient'; and we know that, if he be a man of real power and statesmanlike initiative, he may often hit the wish and purpose of the nation so in the quick in what he urges upon Congress that the Houses will heed him promptly and seriously enough. But there is a stubborn and very natural pride in the Houses with respect to this matter. They, not he, are the nation's representatives in the making of law; and they would deem themselves subservient were they too often to permit him leadership in legislative policy. It is easy to stir their resentment by too much sug-

gestion; and it is best that a message should be general, not special—best that it should cover a good many topics and not confine itself too narrowly to one, if a President would keep in credit with those who shape matters within the House and Senate. In all ordinary times the President recognizes this and preserves a sort of modesty, a tone as if of a chronicler merely, and setter forth of things administrative, when he addresses Congress. He makes it his study to use only a private influence and never to seem a maker of resolutions. And even when the occasion is extraordinary and his own mind definitely made up, he argues and urges—he cannot command. In short, in making suggestions to Congress the President of the United States has only this advantage over any other influential person in the nation who might choose to send to Congress a letter of information and advice. It is the duty of Congress to read what he says; all the larger newspapers will print it; most of them will have editorial comments upon it; and some will have letters from their Washington correspondents devoted to guessing what effect, if any, it will

have upon legislation. The President can make his message a means of concentrating public opinion upon particular topics of his own choosing, and so force those topics upon the attention of the House. But that is all; and under ordinary circumstances it is not much."

The address contains a clear and thorough analysis of the mastery over public policy and the course of legislation then exercised by the Speaker, but which has been overthrown by the parliamentary revolution that has shorn the Speaker of his autocratic power and reduced him to his proper function of a moderator. With respect to the Senate, he remarked:

"The Senate unquestionably, whatever we may think about the House of Representatives, stands unique among legislative bodies in the modern time. Whether we relish its uniqueness in the present generation quite as much as it was relished among our fathers is an open question, but its individuality is indubitable. This singular body has assumed of late what I may, perhaps, be allowed to call a sort of Romo-Polish character. Like the Roman Senate, it has magnified its

administrative powers and its right of negative in the great fields of finance and foreign affairs, as well as in all ordinary legislation; and, following Polish precedents, it has seemed to arrogate to its members the right of individual veto. Each senator, like each prince of ancient Poland, insists, it would seem, upon consulting his own interests and preferences before he will allow measures to reach their final consideration and passage. In the field of administration, it seems plain, the Senate expects the executive very generally to submit to its oversight and suggestion, as Roman magistrates submitted to the Senate of their singular republic. I am anxious not to distort the true proportions of the picture, even in pleasantry; and, if to put the matter as I have just put it savors too much of exaggerating temporary tendencies into established practices, let us rest content with saying merely that this noted assembly has at almost every critical juncture of our recent political history had an influence in affairs greater, much greater, than that of the House of Representatives; and that the methods by which this great council is

led are likely to be of the utmost consequence to the nation at every turn in its fortunes. Who leads the Senate? Can anyone say?"

It is true that in the past the Government had gotten on somehow, without formal leadership and by casual methods of adjustment between its separate organs, but a vast change in conditions has taken place.

"Where conditions are comparatively simple and uniform, constructive leadership is little needed. Men readily see things alike and easily come to a common opinion upon the larger sort of questions; or, at any rate, to two general opinions, widespread and definite enough to form parties on. For well-nigh a generation after the war, moreover, the problems which the Government of the Union had to settle were very definite problems indeed, which no man could mistake, and upon which opinion could readily be concentrated. I think the country sadly needed responsible and conscientious leadership during the period of Reconstruction, and it has suffered many things because it did not get it—things of which we still keenly feel the consequences. But

the tasks, at least, were definite and unmistakable, and parties formed themselves upon sharp-cut issues.

"Since then, how has the scene changed! It is not now fundamental matters of structure and franchise upon which we have to center our choice; but those general questions of policy upon which every nation has to exercise its discretion: foreign policy, our duty to our neighbors, customs tariffs, coinage, currency, immigration, the law of corporations and of trusts, the regulation of railway traffic and of the great industries which supply the necessaries of life and the staffs of manufacture. These are questions of economic policy chiefly; and how shall we settle questions of economic policy except upon grounds of interest? These are not questions upon which it is easy to concentrate general opinion. It is infinitely difficult to effect a general enlightenment of the public mind in regard to their real merits and significance for the nation as a whole. Their settlement in any one way affects the several parts of the country unequally. They cannot be settled justly by a mere com-

pounding of differences, a mere unguided interplay of rival individual forces, without leadership and the courage of definite party action. Such questions are as complex and as difficult of adequate comprehension as the now infinitely varied life of the nation itself; and we run incalculable risks in leaving their settlement to the action of a House of Representatives whose leaders are silent and do not tell us upon what principle they act, or upon what motive; to a Senate whose members insist upon making each an individual contribution to the result; and to a President chosen by processes which have little or nothing to do with party organization or with the solution of questions of State. . . .

"Successful governments have never been conducted safely in the midst of complex and critical affairs except when guided by those who were responsible for carrying out and bringing to an issue the measures they proposed; and the separation of the right to plan from the duty to execute has always led to blundering and inefficiency. . . . If you would have the present error of our system in a word, it is this, that Congress

is the motive power in the Government and yet has in it nowhere any representative of the nation as a whole. Our Executive, on the other hand, is national; at any rate may be made so, and yet has no longer any place of guidance in our system. It represents no constituency, but the whole people; and yet, though it alone is national, it has no originative voice in domestic national policy. . . . We should have not a little light thrown daily, and often when it is least expected, upon the conduct of the departments, if the heads of the departments had daily to face the representatives of the people, to propose, defend, explain administrative policy, upon the floor of the Houses, where such a plan would put them: and heads of departments would be happy under such a system only when they were very straightforward and honest and able men."

This address has been considered at some length because of the simplicity and directness with which he states opinions which run all through his political essays. The occasion was an inspiring one. Himself a lawyer and a Virginian, he was speaking to a gathering of Vir-

ginia lawyers, and he began by expressing his keen gratification at finding himself in such congenial company, and his feeling that he might speak his mind frankly without being misunderstood. However, this significant address, although it made a signal impression upon its hearers and was duly reported and preserved in the transactions of the Virginia State Bar Association, did not receive such general publicity as has attended his books and essays, and it deserves more notice than it has hitherto received.

After his election to the presidency of Princeton in 1902, he made many addresses on educational topics, in the main expository of the ideas and principles he was introducing into university management. His utterance, apart from the subjects evoked by his duties and aims as an educator, was devoted to public affairs. His reputation as a publicist was now so widespread that calls for advice upon public problems and appeals for addresses upon political questions reached him from all parts of the country. Literary themes do not figure in the publications of this period, but, instead, reports of addresses deliv-

ered upon various occasions. A number of magazine articles belong to this time, but the structure and style indicate that they too originated as oral addresses and not as written essays. Some important addresses on public affairs were delivered upon such short notice that they had the appearance of an improvisation, but as a rule there was preparation as to ideas and spontaneity as to diction. Mr. Wilson's habitual use of shorthand greatly facilitates his preparation. By this means his argument can be skeletonized in a brief space. Some important addresses were written out in shorthand and then dictated to an amanuensis, but even such elaborate preparation did not confine the delivery, and the address as spoken would differ in order and diction from the address as previously written. A stenographer who has reported many of Mr. Wilson's addresses, and has often had the use of his preliminary draft, told the present writer that Mr. Wilson was not a rapid shorthand writer, but that his characters were so perfectly formed that anyone acquainted with the system could read the notes with ease. It was rarely the case that the address as deliv-

ered was quite the same as the draft. There was the same general matter and line of thought, but often differently put and in another order, and with new illustrations. Mr. Wilson's mastery of his powers became such that he excelled in that supreme capacity of the public speaker—the ability to deal with casual incidents or interruptions so as to turn them to account. He became distinctly a figure in the public life of the country years before he actually accepted public office. He laid down a principle upon which he himself acted, when he told the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce that "public life does not consist merely of the transaction of public business. It consists of the formation of public opinion, of the guidance of public purpose, of the promoting of progress and of the criticizing of remedies."

In this Cleveland address which was delivered November 16, 1907, he gave special attention to the problem of corporation control, and spoke very frankly about it, as in the following:

"For my part I don't believe that fining corporations is of the least use for the ends we seek.

If you fine a corporation twenty-nine million dollars, what happens is that you take twenty-nine million dollars, if you get it—it has not been paid yet—but if you get it you put it into the public treasury and take it out of the business of the country, and the same thing will be done the next day that was done the day before and was the antecedent of the fine. If a chauffeur goes too fast, I have heard some of my fellow-citizens propose that we lock up the machine. I had a great deal rather lock up the chauffeur. I suppose that if a railway accident occurs you will lock up the locomotive presently—you will lock up our tools because we do not have sense enough or humanity enough to use them properly. Corporations, those imaginary persons, are our tools. And the responsibility is not to rest upon them to the incommoding of the whole business development of the country, but is to rest upon the individuals who are misusing them."

In an address delivered at the annual convention of the American Bankers' Association, at Denver, September 30, 1908, Mr. Wilson con-

sidered the social and political functions of banking. He told his hearers:

"It is the duty of the banker, as it is the duty of men of every other class, to see to it that there be in his calling no class spirit, no feeling of antagonism to the people, to plain men whom the bankers, to their great loss and detriment, do not know. It is their duty to be intelligent, thoughtful, patriotic intermediaries between capital and the people at large; to understand and serve the general interest; to be public men serving the country as well as private men serving their depositors and the enterprises whose securities and notes they hold. How capital is to draw near to the people and serve them at once obviously and safely is the question, the great and now pressing question, which it is the particular duty of the banker to answer. No one else can answer it so intelligently; and if he does not answer it others will, it may be, to his detriment and to the general embarrassment of the country."

In an address delivered before the Southern Society of New York, December 9, 1908, Mr.

Wilson made a comprehensive survey of public questions. That was just after the election of Mr. Taft. With a prescience that subsequent events abundantly justified, Doctor Wilson declared that the campaign had settled nothing except the question of who should be President of the United States; that it left the country in a condition wherein serious problems arising out of new economic conditions demanded immediate attention—problems of capital and labor, protection and the tariff, centralized authority, etc. He characterized as a false conservatism "that sort of conservatism which proposes a return to old measures and expedients intended for other circumstances, or to old formulas now in large part emptied of their meaning. For example, the old formula 'tariff for revenue only' has a barren sound to our ears in existing circumstances, because the tariff as we know it is not a system of taxation; it is, rather, a vast body of economic expedients which have been used under the guise of taxation for the purpose of building up various industries great and small, and enriching the nation as a body of individuals

rather than as a Government. It would be perfectly futile to propose out of hand a tariff for revenue only, because you cannot get out of a system except by systematic effort and adjustment, and the point to determine at present is not, how may we best secure the necessary revenue for the maintenance and conduct of our Government by means of duties on imports, but how shall we adjust our duties on imports to the present real circumstances of the nation and the present interests of our economic development as a whole?"

In an address before the University of North Carolina on the anniversary of Lee's birthday, he called attention to the significance of the fact that General Lee is accepted as a national hero.

"It means simply this delightful thing, that there are no sections in this country any more; that we are a nation and are proud of all the great heroes whom the processes of our national life have elevated into conspicuous places of fame. I believe that the future lies with all those men who devote themselves to national thinking, who eschew those narrow calculations of self-

interest which affect only particular communities and try to conceive of communities as a part of a great national life which must be purified in order that it may be successful."

In the course of this address he touched on the problem of corporation control. He remarked:

"There is only, historically speaking, one possible successful punishment of abuses of law, and that is, that when a wrong thing is done you find the man who did it and punish him. You can fine all the corporations there are, and fine them out of existence, and all you will have done will be to have embarrassed the commerce of the country. You will have left the men who did it free to repeat it in other combinations.

"I am going to use an illustration which you can easily misunderstand, but I am going to ask you not to misunderstand it. Suppose I should incorporate an association of burglars with the assurance that you would restrain their actions, not as individuals, but only as a corporation. They would be very much pleased with that arrangement, because it would leave them the service of their most accomplished burglars, who

could fool you half the time and not be found out. Such a corporation would be willing to pay you a heavy fine for the privilege. Now I do not mean to draw a parallel between our great corporations and burglars,—that is where you are likely to misunderstand me (laughter), because I do not hold the prevalent belief that the majority of the business men of this country are burglars; I believe, on the contrary, that the number of malicious men engaged in corporations in this country is very small. But that small number is singularly gifted (laughter), and until you have picked them out and distinguished them for punishment you have not touched the process by which they succeed in doing what they wish. You may say that this is a very difficult thing, that there is so much covert, so much undergrowth, the nation is so thickset with organizations that you cannot see them. Perhaps you are right; but that does not make any difference to my argument; whether difficult or not it has got to be done."

In the following month Doctor Wilson delivered an address at the Chicago celebration of the

one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln. It was a congenial employment as the character and achievements of Lincoln have been a theme on which he has often touched with loving appreciation. In closing his address he said:

"God send us such men again! We are confused by a war of interests, a clash of classes, a competition of powers, an effort at conquest and restraint, and the great forces which war and toil amongst us can be guided and reconciled only by some man who is truly a man of the people, as Lincoln was, not caught in the toils of any special interest, united by wide sympathy with many kinds of men, familiar with many aspects of life, and led, through many changes, to a personal experience which unites him with the common mass. . . . The only way in which we can worthily celebrate any great man is not by a mere tribute of words, not by the weak and futile tribute of imitation, but by the convincing tribute of those who seek to see and execute their task with the same free hand and untainted motive. . . ."

In an address at the annual meeting of the

Civic League of St. Louis, March 9, 1909, Doctor Wilson dissected the fallacy that in order to control their Government the people must themselves administer it. This address abounded with anecdote and illustration, enforcing the point that not further complication but great simplification is necessary to give the Government a democratic character.

"You have given the people of this country so many persons to select for office that they have not time to select them, and have to leave it to professionals, that is to say, the professional politicians; which, reduced to its simplest term, is the boss of the district. When you vote the Republican or Democratic ticket you either vote for the names selected by one machine or the names selected by the other machine. This is not to lay any aspersion upon those who receive the nominations. I for one do not subscribe to the opinion that bosses under our Government deserve our scorn and contempt, for we have organized a system of government which makes them just as necessary as the President of the United States. They are the natural, inevitable fruit

of the tree, and if we do not like them we have got to plant another tree. The boss is just as legitimate as any member of any legislature, because by giving the people a task which they cannot perform, you have taken it away from them, and have made it necessary that those who can perform it should perform it. . . .

"The remedy is contained in one word, *Simplification.* Simplify your processes, and you will begin to control; complicate them, and you will get farther and farther away from their control. Simplification! Simplification! Simplification! is the task that awaits us: to reduce the number of persons voted for to the absolute workable minimum,—knowing whom you have selected; knowing whom you have trusted, and having so few persons to watch that you can watch them. That is the way we are going to get popular control back in this country, and that is the only way we are going to get popular control back. . . . I am for the real rights and not the rhetorical rights of the people. I am for those things which are really and practically in the interest of self-government; and I say that

the interests of self-government are served by nothing except by reducing the number of elective officers to the absolute minimum of efficiency."

The *North American Review* for October, 1909, had a long article by Doctor Wilson on the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill, giving a detailed expression of views that he had stated in public on various occasions. He observed:

"The methods by which tariff bills are constructed have now become all too familiar and throw a significant light upon the character of the legislation involved. Debate in the Houses has little or nothing to do with it. The process by which such a bill is made is private, not public; because the reasons which underlie many of the rates imposed are private. The stronger faction of the Ways and Means Committee of the House makes up the preliminary bill, with the assistance of 'experts' whom it permits the industries most concerned to supply for its guidance. The controlling members of the Committee also determine what amendments, if any, shall be accepted, either from the minority faction of the Commit-

tee or from the House itself. It permits itself to be dictated to, if at all, only by the imperative action of a party caucus. The stronger faction of the Finance Committee of the Senate, in like fashion, frames the bill which it intends to substitute for the one sent up from the House. It is often to be found at work on it before any bill reaches it from the popular chamber. The compromise between the two measures is arranged in private conference by conferees drawn from the two committees. What takes place in the committees and in the conference is confidential. It is considered impertinent for reporters to inquire. It is admitted to be the business of the manufacturers concerned, but not the business of the public, who are to pay the rates. The debates which the country is invited to hear in the open sessions of the Houses are merely formal. They determine nothing and disclose very little. It is the policy of silence and secrecy, indeed, with regard to the whole process, that makes it absolutely inconsistent with every standard of public duty and political integrity."

After an examination of the tariff schedules,

and their social and economic consequences, he asks:

"What, then, shall we do? Shall we adopt 'Thorough' as our motto and sweep the whole system away, be quit of privilege and favors at once, put our industries upon their own resources and center national legislation wholly upon the business of the nation? By no means. The system cannot be suddenly destroyed. That would bring our whole economic life into radical danger. . . . Constitutional lawyers long ago determined that it was certainly within the choice of Congress to lay import duties, if it pleased, with a view to the incidental benefit of traders and manufacturers within the country; and, if that incidental object has in later days become the chief and only guiding object of the rates of duty, that, I take it, is only a question of more or less, not a question which cuts so deep as to affect the power of Congress or draw it seriously into debate again. . . . For when you have the general benefit of the country as your standard, you have a principle upon which it is as legitimate to withdraw protection as to give it. . . . Existing

protection should not be suddenly withdrawn, but steadily, and upon a fixed program upon which every man of business can base his definite forecasts and systematic plans."

So continuous was Doctor Wilson's attention to public affairs and so frequent were the occasions on which he gave his views, that it is impossible to point to any event that marked his entrance into public life. It was a thing of gradual development. Its beginnings are traceable to his undergraduate period, and public recognition of it is coeval with his whole career as an educator. But the time when all perceived what the well-informed had all along discerned came when he was made president of Princeton University. Viscount Bryce, in his well-known treatise on "The American Commonwealth," notes the exercise of public influence by university presidents as a characteristic feature of American politics. "No university dignitaries in Great Britain are so well known to the public, or have their opinions quoted with so much respect, as the heads of the seven or eight leading universities of the United States." This characteristic

attitude of American public opinion may, perhaps, be due to the fact that the need of independent and disinterested advice upon public affairs is felt with special keenness.

Doctor Wilson's term as a university president was a period of great uneasiness in the public mind. The authority of the Government had apparently passed under private control, and it seemed as if the only practical effect of elections was to change the players without changing the game. In the presidential campaign of 1904, the Democratic candidate charged that the party in power was being financed by contributions from corporations and trust magnates. He declared that such methods had transformed the government of the people into "a government whose officers are practically chosen by a handful of corporate managers, who levy upon the assets of the stockholders whom they represent such sums of money as they deem requisite to place the conduct of the Government in such hands as they consider best for their private interests." The general charge of the financing of party management by trust magnates was abundantly

Woodrow Wilson, Age 46

The picture was taken in 1902, the year he was elected president of Princeton University

substantiated by subsequent disclosures, but it was shown that their bounty was not confined by party lines, so that as between the national party organizations it was merely a case of the kettle and the pot, while from the standpoint of government it was a case of general foulness in the instruments of popular rule.

During this period of agitation and perplexity, Doctor Wilson had clear and positive opinions to express upon all the issues of the times. National knowledge and appreciation of his leadership gradually acquired a volume that naturally gravitated to the channels of action. During 1910 invitations became frequent in which political intention was noticeable. On March 29 he was the principal speaker at a Democratic gathering at Elizabeth, New Jersey. In this address he made a searching examination of Democratic party duties and responsibilities. Emphatically disclaiming the notion that the getting of office was anything but a means of public service, he proceeded to inquire as to what are the standards of the Democratic party. "Why do we assure ourselves that we can advise and lead the country

better than the Republicans can?" To this question he gave a categorical answer, defining the Democratic party position and distinguishing it from the Republican party position. He held that Republican party behavior had shown that "their confidence was not in the views and desires of the people as a whole, but in the promotion of the interests of the country at the hands of those who chiefly controlled its resources. It has been their first thought to safeguard property and establish enterprise." The Democratic position, while not hostile to property or enterprise, was one of faith in the people as a whole, and of determination to serve the people "not in groups and sections but as a whole." Another fundamental principle of Democracy is that "society must be organized so that the individual will not be crushed, will not be unnecessarily hampered. Every legal instrumentality created for his convenience, like the corporation, must be created only for his convenience and never for his government or suppression." Still another fundamental principle is adherence to the Constitutional division of power as between the states and the federal

Government. "A party at once conservative in respect of the law and radical in respect of the service we mean to render the people; our policies do not cut to the alteration of institutions, but to the effectuation of measures."

Doctor Wilson did not stop short with a statement of principles; he went on to consider their practical application. He held that in curbing the trusts, we should not assume management of them. "It is imperatively necessary, if government is to be kept pure and impartial, that its officers should not themselves be made partners or managers of the great corporate enterprises through which the public is served. Our regulation of public interests must be legal regulation and not direct management." In respect of tariff legislation, he said it was clearly the duty of the party to put an end to the system that has long since "ceased to be a policy of protection and become a policy of patronage, a policy of arrangement by which particular interests in the country may be sure of their profits, whether the country profits by their enterprise or not." In conclusion he remarked: "And, finally, it seems

to me that it is the duty of the Democratic party to challenge the people by every possible means to depend upon themselves rather than fostering powers lodged in groups of individuals. There have been many encouraging signs in recent years, particularly in some of our smaller cities, that we have at last come upon a time when the people are arousing themselves to give over being dependent upon men whom they cannot watch and are taking direct charge, at any rate, of their local governments. There is no reason why this process should not extend to the governments of the states and in effect to the government of the nation. A simplification of electoral processes will do much to accomplish this. Government can be put in such a form as to be easy to understand, easy to criticize, easy to restrain. It should be the study of every sincere Democrat to promote the measure by which these things can be accomplished."

During the summer of 1910 the question of the Democratic nomination to the governorship of New Jersey was up for an answer. Doctor Wilson held himself aloof from any contrivance to

obtain that nomination, but there was a growing demand for his candidacy, and this not merely with regard to New Jersey interests but far more with regard to national interests. The long-established system of government by private arrangement had been shattered by the successful revolt against Speaker Cannon, but no system of responsible government had been devised to take its place. American politics seemed to be

> Wandering between two worlds, one dead,
> The other powerless to be born.

There was a widely held belief that by training, attainments, and character, Woodrow Wilson was particularly well qualified to serve as a popular leader at this juncture, and organization in furtherance of that purpose began in many parts of the country. Expressions of desire were fre-frequently heard that New Jersey Democrats should present his candidacy. Doctor Wilson took no part in these movements but went his way as usual, speaking frankly on public affairs, without troubling himself in the least as to whether his openness might impair his availabil-

ity. The matter eventually acquired an urgency that he felt bound to recognize. It was pointed out to him that to deal intelligently with the situation, those disposed to support him were entitled to know whether he would accept the nomination if it could be had. This argument broke his reserve and on July 25 he issued a statement in which he said:

"I need not say that I am in no sense a candidate for the nomination, and that I would not under any circumstances do anything to obtain it. My present duties and responsibilities are such as should satisfy any man desirous of rendering public service. They certainly satisfy me, and I do not wish to draw away from them.

"But my wish does not constitute my duty, and, if it should turn out to be true, as so many well-informed persons have assured me they believe it will, that it is the wish and hope of a decided majority of the thoughtful Democrats of the state that I should consent to accept the party's nomination for the great office of Governor, I should deem it my duty, as well as an honor and a privilege, to do so."

When the Democratic State Convention met on Thursday, September 15, Doctor Wilson was nominated on the first ballot.

CHAPTER V

GOVERNOR OF NEW JERSEY

DOCTOR WILSON remained absolutely quiescent during the canvass for the election of delegates to the state convention, except on one occasion, when he wrote a letter for publication in reply to charges that he was hostile to organized labor. These charges did not themselves elicit the letter, but the editor of a Labor paper wrote to him desiring to know his opinions, and received a frank reply. Doctor Wilson wrote, August 23, 1910:

"It is, in my opinion, not only perfectly legitimate, but absolutely necessary that labor should organize if it is to secure justice from organized capital, and everything that it does to improve the condition of workingmen, to obtain legislation that will impose full legal responsibility upon the employer for his treatment of his employees and for their protection against accident, to secure just and adequate wages, and to put reasonable

limits upon the working day and upon the exactions of those who employ labor, ought to have the hearty support of all fair-minded and public-spirited men; for there is a sense in which the condition of labor is the condition of the nation itself.

"I have criticized some of the things organized labor has occasionally done, but I have criticized them as a friend and because I thought them harmful to the laborers themselves and harmful to the country. I know of no other standard by which to judge these things than the interest of the whole community. The laboring man cannot benefit himself by injuring the industries of the country. . . .

"I am much more afraid that the great corporations, combinations and trusts will do the country deep harm than I am that the labor organizations will harm it, and yet I believe the corporations to be necessary instruments of modern business. They are good things so long as as they act in the common interest, and very bad things when they do not. . . .

"But our object, in the one case as in the

other, should not be hostile. There has been hostility enough all around. What we need now is to take common counsel as to what is for the common benefit, for the good of the country and of the several communities in which we live and earn our bread, and also our happiness."

Doctor Wilson did not vary from his ordinary occupations during the canvass. He spent his summer vacation at Lyme, Connecticut, as had been his habit for some years, and he was not back in New Jersey until his duties as president of the University called him thither. He was playing golf on the Princeton links when the news came that he had been nominated for governor on the first ballot, and that the convention would like to hear from him. A powerful touring car had been sent to bring him. The eleven miles between Princeton and Trenton were covered so rapidly that in about half an hour after the announcement of the ballot the candidate was on the platform. The address he delivered is unique in the exactness with which it described a program of action which his administration did actually put through. Rarely has there been such

close correspondence between pledges made to the people before an election and the fulfillment of them after the election. One may refer to the address as a directory of the measures of his administration as governor. After mentioning the fact that the nomination had come to him unsolicited and that he was under no pledges of any kind to prevent him from serving the people of the state with singleness of purpose, he said:

"I take the three great questions before us to be reorganization and economy in administration, the equalization of taxation, and the control of corporations. There are other very important questions that confront us, as they confront all the other states of the Union in this day of readjustment: the question of the proper liability of employers, for example; the question of corrupt practices in elections; the question of conservation; but the three I have named dominate all the rest. It is imperative that we should not only master them, but also act upon them, and act very definitely.

"It is first of all necessary that we should act in the right spirit. And the right spirit is not a

spirit of hostility. We shall not act either justly or wisely if we attack established interests as public enemies. There has been too much indictment and too little successful prosecution for wrongs done. It is easy to condemn wrong and to fulminate against wrong-doers in effective rhetorical phrases, but that does not bring either reform or ease of mind. . . .

"The question of the control of corporations is a very difficult one, upon which no man can speak with confidence; but some things are plain. It is plain, so far as New Jersey is concerned, that we must have a public service commission with the amplest powers to oversee and regulate the administration of public service corporations throughout the state. . . . The regulation of corporations is the duty of the state much more directly than it is the duty of the Government of the United States. It is my strong hope that New Jersey may lead the way in reform by scrutinizing very carefully the enterprises she consents to incorporate: their make-up, their objects, the basis and method of their capitalization, their organization with respect to liability to control

by the state, their conformity to state and federal statutes. This can be done, and done effectually. I covet for New Jersey the honor of doing it."

The contrast between such straight talk and the vague rhetoric that is the ordinary staple of political speech-making made a strong impression upon the audience and was an auspicious start of the campaign. Doctor Wilson went all over the state, addressing the people in the same direct and simple way, and the progress of the campaign attracted national attention. Its climax was the reply of the candidate to some unusually pungent interrogatories propounded by George L. Record, a veteran reformer whose persistent agitation had made him well known throughout the state. The interrogatories were sharply pointed so as to either insure definite reply or else make plain the candidate's avoidance of the issue. The answers were as pointed as the questions, and every issue was met squarely. Many of the questions were disposed of by simply replying "yes," but when further explanation was required to make his position clear that was supplied. The interrogatories did not deal with

abstractions but with particulars. Doctor Wilson was asked not merely whether he was opposed to the boss system, but further whether he was opposed to the domination of certain individuals mentioned by name. And he replied that he was.

"I have made it my business for years to observe and understand that system, and I hate it as thoroughly as I understand it. You are quite right in saying that the system is bi-partisan; that it constitutes 'the most dangerous condition in the public life of our state and nation today'; and that it has virtually, for the time being, 'destroyed representative government and put in its place a government of privilege.' I would propose to abolish it by the above reforms, by the election to office of men who will refuse to submit to it and bend all their energies to break it up, and by pitiless publicity."

As to what his relations would be to his own party managers, Doctor Wilson remarked that if he should be elected he would understand that to mean that he had been chosen leader of the party "and the direct representative of the whole people in the conduct of the Government."

Mr. Record was such a prominent figure and the catechism he had prepared was so trenchant that public attention was riveted upon the affair. The way in which Doctor Wilson met the test was decisive in its effect upon the campaign. In the November election he received a plurality of 49,056, although only two years before the Republican plurality was 82,776. The legislature, in which there had been a Republican majority of 31 on joint ballot, in a total of 81, had now a Democratic majority of 21 on joint ballot, although the Republicans retained control of the Senate.

Almost immediately after the election Governor Wilson was confronted by a situation common enough in American politics and readily intelligible by those who understand American politics, but it is so hard for the uninitiated to comprehend that some general explanation is desirable, particularly since the matter is essential to a just estimate of the entire course of Governor Wilson's administration. All American constitutions have been deeply impressed by the old French doctrine of the separation of the pow-

ers, construed as meaning not only that the powers should be separately constituted, but that they should also be disconnected as far as possible in their actual operation. This theory has long since been extinct in Europe and has no place in the constitution of the present French republic, but its most complete and logical formulation is to be found in the French constitution of 1791, adopted during the revolutionary period. In that it is declared to be the exclusive function of the representative assembly to propose and enact the laws, while the Executive "can only invite the legislative body to take the matter under consideration." This also describes a traditional opinion of the proper attitude of an American executive, although it is not so described in American constitutions. The constitution of New Jersey, however, approximates the French revolutionary type in this respect more closely than other American state constitutions. It says that the governor "shall communicate by message to the legislature at the opening of each session, and at such other times as he may deem necessary, the condition of the state, and recom-

mend such measures as he may deem expedient." The usual American practice is to treat this duty of recommendation as amounting to no more than a written request that the matter be taken under consideration. This tends to make legislation a matter of casual combination and adjustment among the particular interests represented by the members of the legislature. To subject the process to management and control, lobby influence has been systematized in American politics. The practical guidance and leadership omitted by the constitutional system is privately supplied by groups of undertakers who find their account in engrossing and dispensing political influence. Although the traditions and prejudices of the people are enlisted in support of the constitutional system that provides such undertakers with their opportunities, yet at the same time the people resent the use made of those opportunities. In Mr. Record's campaign catechism he referred to one such group as "the Republican Board of Guardians" and to another as "the Democratic Overlords."

Usually the election of a political outsider con-

firms the authority of such undertakers, since unfamiliarity with official method inclines him to be receptive of assistance and advice that will be tactfully proffered, and to be acquiescent in their mediation of his relations with the legislature, not merely from its convenience, but also from scruples as to the constitutional propriety of making any direct exertion of his official influence. Some such expectations seem to have been entertained when the university president was elected governor of the state, but they were soon dissipated. Governor Wilson soon showed that he was familiar with practical politics and could find his way about without a guide. He was familiar with the nature of all the constitutional obstructions that could be put in his way and was ready to cope with them. Before he was inaugurated as governor he was involved in a struggle that incidentally involved the question of party leadership, and as soon as he perceived that the issue was impending he raised it himself.

At that time United States Senators were elected by state legislatures. The New Jersey

legislature had passed a law by which the party nomination to the office was to be made at a popular election in which all members of the party were entitled to vote. The candidate chosen at the direct primary could therefore plead party obligation in his favor and yet the legislature was not legally bound. It was contended that the direct primary was a new thing and had not been taken seriously by the people; that had it been, a different sort of man would have been nominated; and that it was a matter for the legislature to decide without interference or dictation. It became known that an influential candidate was in the field against the primary nominee. Governor Wilson advised the new candidate to withdraw, and when he refused to comply, forthwith made an open appeal to the people. He said:

"I realize the delicacy of taking any part in the discussion of the matter. As governor of New Jersey I shall have no part in the choice of Senator. Legally speaking it is not my duty even to give advice with regard to the choice. But there are other duties beside legal duties. The recent campaign has put me in an unusual

position. I offered, if elected, to be the political spokesman and advisor of the people. I even asked the voters who did not care to make their choice of governor upon that understanding not to vote for me. I believe that the choice was made upon that understanding and I cannot escape the responsibility involved. I have no desire to escape it. It is my duty to say, with a full sense of the peculiar responsibility of my position, what I deem to be the obligation of the legislature to do in this gravely important matter."

He then referred to the fact that at a legally held direct primary a party candidate for the Senatorship had been nominated, and he held that that was conclusive upon the legislative representatives of the party. "Absolute good faith in dealing with the people, an unhesitating fidelity to every principle avowed, is the highest law of political morality under a constitutional government."

This public statement, made a month before the meeting of the legislature, was followed up by a vigorous campaign, during which Governor Wilson again went on the stump and also com-

municated directly with the members of the legislature. In so doing he antagonized long-established political interests that had been active and influential in compassing his own nomination as governor, provoking from them the charge of ingratitude and exciting their lasting enmity, but he did not flinch from his ideals of duty, and the action of the legislature accorded with his advice.

The definition of his attitude that he made on this issue extended also to the legislative issues of the session. He actively exerted his influence in shaping and conducting legislation. Early in the session he was charged with holding a secret conference at a New York hotel, in which George L. Record, the progressive Republican leader, took part. Governor Wilson at once admitted that a conference had been held, and gave the names of those present. He said that it was a continuation of the policy he had followed ever since his election, of "consulting everyone who was interested in reforms which concern the whole state." He added:

"Mr. Record is well known to be one of the

best informed men in this state with regard to the details involved in most of the reforms proposed. He is particularly versed in legislation elsewhere, as well as in New Jersey, with regard to ballot reform and corrupt practices, as well as with regard to the regulation of primaries. He generously consented to put his unusual store of information at the service of the conference, which was non-partisan in its purpose and was in the public interest."

In its effect upon legislation the election of Governor Wilson was, indeed, like a channel cut through a swamp. Waters that had been vainly seeking an outlet now poured into it from all quarters. Reform elements in the Republican party moved towards him with offers of service that were freely utilized, along with those coming from his own party associates. Governor Wilson's individual function became chiefly that of selection and guidance. His party had some exceptionally strong and capable representatives in the legislature, who could champion the party policy with vigor and effect, and although the party was in a minority in the state senate, suffi-

cient Republican support was obtained to admit of the enactment of a series of reform measures.

A typical instance of Governor Wilson's management is afforded by a legislative conference held on the evening of March 8, 1911. The subjects considered were the election reform bill, the employers' liability law, the public utilities commission bill and the corrupt practices act. The conference lasted over four hours, the election bill occupying the most time. Governor Wilson took an active part in the discussion and an agreement was reached which insured the passage of all four measures. Governor Wilson himself was made a member of a committee appointed to draft the election reform bill in accord with the conclusions reached at the conference. As a result of the impartial consultation that was sought and the expert assistance secured in perfecting details, all these measures were embodied in such mature and considerate enactments that they immediately took rank as models. The employers' liability law was a particularly difficult measure, inasmuch as the juristic basis of action was extremely uncertain. A carefully drawn act drafted

upon principles which had been successfully applied in English jurisprudence was declared unconstitutional by the New York Court of Appeals in 1910, and doubts were expressed by legal authorities whether the courts would permit any liability to be put upon employers that they themselves would not voluntarily accept. It was generally recognized that if Governor Wilson's administration was able to handle this issue successfully the results would be far-reaching in their effect upon American jurisprudence. A legal magazine, the *Green Bag,* in its issue for May, 1911, pointed to the New Jersey statute as providing a practical solution of the problem. That statute introduced an elective system of compensation, under which a contract is presumed to exist unless either the employee or the employer gives notice to the contrary. The *Green Bag* remarked:

"The outcome of the New Jersey experiment will be watched with interest. We believe that under an elective system a large number of industries are likely to come voluntarily under the act, on account of its reciprocal benefits. Any-

thing tending, by proper means, to diminish the volume of personal injury litigation, and to afford simpler and more certain relief to employees without injustice to the employer is strongly supported by every consideration of public policy."

As a matter of fact the New Jersey statute did in fact accomplish all these benefits. The law was not only carefully drawn, but it was also carefully applied. A commission was appointed to supervise its operation, and the matter was so judiciously handled that acceptance of the system by the industries of the state soon became general. In its issue for September, 1912, the *Green Bag* summed up the situation as follows:

"More than 90 per cent of the employers of industrial labor in New Jersey have virtually subscribed to the provisions of the elective workmen's compensation act now in operation. The disfavor of manufacturers, intense when the law was in the throes of enactment, has been practically eliminated after studying the operation for the last twelve months. It is said that there are now only two large manufacturing concerns in the

state not operating under the provisions of the compensation schedule of the act; of those, one has a compensation rate of its own, in excess, in most classes of accidents, of the state's schedule."

Indeed, it may be remarked as a general characteristic of the measures enacted during Governor Wilson's administration, that they have worked well in practice. The direct primary law and the corrupt practices act have met with general acceptance as established features of the political system. The stringent control over corporations established by the law creating the public utilities commission is now generally recognized as a salutary extension of public authority which will be a permanent administrative function. Another signal event in Governor Wilson's administration was a reorganization of the school system of the State. A large board, constituted on the basis of district representation, was abolished, and was succeeded by a small unpaid commission of large power, representing the State as a whole, working in conjunction with a state superintendent. In selecting this superintendent,

Governor Wilson gave a shock to local office-seekers by going out of the State to obtain an educational expert.

While he was actively championing the passage of these measures, in which he had to contend with ingenious and persistent opposition, he had also occasion to send in some veto messages. One of these made a firm assertion of home rule principles. A bill had been passed providing for an increase in the pay of firemen and other employees in municipal service. It was vetoed on the ground that "the bill deprives the proper responsible officers of the city of the power to determine whether or not the expenditure provided for is within the resources of the taxpayers or is a proper measure of local administration."

Governor Wilson asserted the same principle of home rule with respect to the liquor traffic. Under date of May 1, 1911, he wrote a letter making the following statement of his position:

"I am in favor of local option. I am a thorough believer in local self-government and believe that every self-governing community which constitutes a social unit should have the right to

control the matter of the regulation or the withholding of licenses.

"But the questions involved are social and moral, not political, and are not susceptible of being made parts of a party program. Whenever they have been made the subject-matter of party contests, they have cut the lines of party organization and party action athwart, to the utter confusion of political action in every other field. They have thrown every other question, however important, into the background and have made constructive party action impossible for long years together.

"So far as I am myself concerned, therefore, I can never consent to have the question of local option made an issue between political parties in this state. My judgment is very clear in this matter. I do not believe that party programs of the highest consequence to the political life of the state and of the nation ought to be thrust on one side and hopelessly embarrassed for long periods together by making a political issue of a great question which is essentially non-political, non-partisan, moral and social in its nature."

The work of this memorable session of the New Jersey legislature reached a brilliant conclusion in the passage of a bill enabling cities to adopt the commission plan of government. The bill is optional but a number of New Jersey cities have adopted that form of government, including Trenton, the state capital.

The active part taken by Governor Wilson in promoting legislation was in accord with constitutional principles that had been his study all the years since he had arrived at manhood. He did not act upon impulse, or from casual opportunity, but of set purpose and upon mature convictions of constitutional propriety. In putting his principles into practice, he had to contend with the virulent opposition of a faction in his own party incensed by his course in the struggle over the United States Senatorship. His action in caucusing with members of the legislature in regard to legislative action was denounced to his face as a breach of official propriety and as a violation of American principles of constitutional government.

It is a decided loss to constitutional history

that the parliamentary leadership assumed by Governor Wilson had to be exercised in the party caucus instead of in the open forum in the full view and hearing of the people. Something of the character of the discussion that took place in the party caucus was revealed in newspaper reports of the caucus of March 13, 1911, on the election reform bill, commonly known as the Geran Act. The bill had stuck on the ways and when the Governor exerted his influence there were some who in effect told him to mind his own business. As to this Governor Wilson replied that it was his clear prerogative under the state constitution to suggest at any time measures for their consideration, and that it was clearly within the meaning of the constitution that his suggestions might be in the form of regularly formulated bills. Therefore it would have been within his choice to send the pending primary and election law to them in a special message and ask them to vote upon it directly.

Having vindicated his constitutional right to recommend measures, he discussed the pending measure on its merits. He said that so far as his

own preference was concerned he would greatly relish going to the people on the issue, except it would seem to bring him into collision with and oblige him to criticize the action of certain members of the legislature. In conclusion he said:

"You can turn aside from the measure if you choose; you can decline to follow me; you can deprive me of office and turn away from me, but you cannot deprive me of power so long as I steadfastly stand for what I believe to be the interests and legitimate demands of the people themselves. I beg you to remember, in this which promises to be an historic conference, you are settling the question of the power or impotence, the distinction or the ignominy of the party to which the people with singular generosity have offered the conduct of their affairs."

This strikes a note in American politics so rare that it sounds new, although precedents in favor of such administrative initiative and leadership extend to the foundation of the Government. The innovation made by Governor Wilson was remarkable not so much as a new formulation of constitutional principles, as it was for the readi-

ness with which he came forward to accept responsibilities which he could have easily avoided, and the energy and success with which he asserted his leadership. In these respects he set an example which has advanced the standards of official behavior.

From the standpoint of constitutional government it may be noted as a deficiency that Governor Wilson's leadership was outside the legislature, but that was no fault of his. He went as far as he had a right to go, and he used such means as he could reach. The constitutional aspects of the situation were discussed by him in a speech delivered at Portland, Oregon, May 18, 1911. It was the first important public address made by him after the close of the legislative session and its experiences naturally informed his remarks. The following gives an idea of the views he expressed:

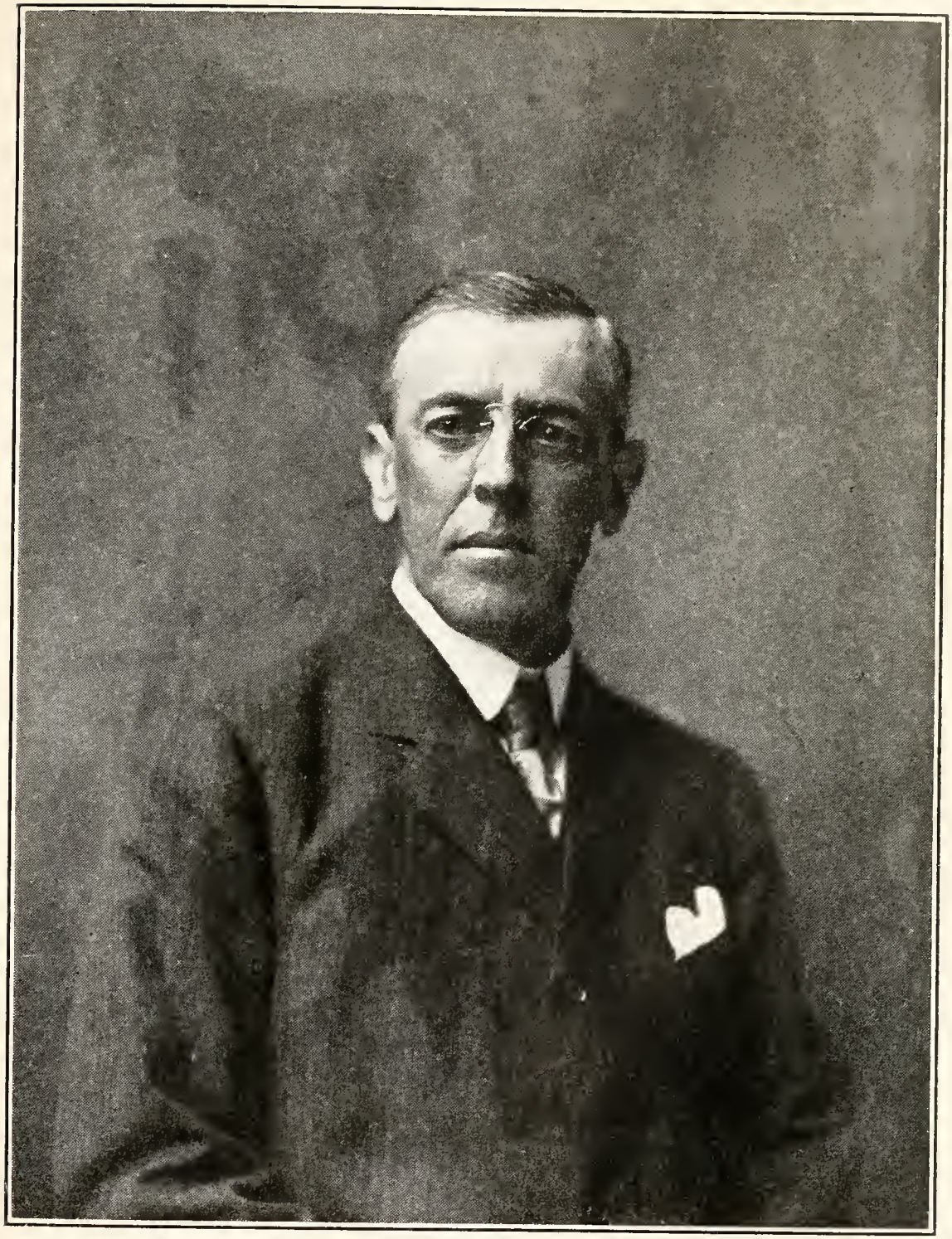
"The increasing dependence of the country upon its executive officers is thrusting upon them a double function. They must undertake the business of agitation, that is to say, the business of forming and leading opinion, and it will not

be very effectual or serviceable for them to do that unless they take the next step and make bold to formulate the measures by which opinion is to be put into effect.

"Moreover, it is still further belittling to our legislature that the discussions led by our executives should be held outside of the legislative chambers. Undoubtedly the hope of the immediate future is that by getting rid of machine control and the control of secret interests of other kinds inside our legislative chambers, they may thoroughly regain their self-possession and their self-respect, and in regaining these may return to their one-time practice of debate and put everything they do to the public ordeal. In that way lies the recovery of their prestige. . . ."

Among those who knew Governor Wilson's views there was an expectation that before his term expired he would do something towards systematizing the relations between the executive and the legislature, particularly with respect to the process of recommending legislation. The lack of any public means by which the administration may propose and bring to determination the

particular measures recommended, provides an opportunity for private enterprise to operate in this field. This is the explanation of the importance of the lobby in American legislative sessions, and also of its ineradicable character despite all opposition to it. It is in fact an irregular and impure performance of a necessary public function, and it was not a mere coincidence that when Governor Wilson asserted administrative initiative in legislation the professional lobby disappeared. The corporations that had been in the habit of feeing agents to look after their interests in the legislative hurly-burly promptly desisted when it was seen that a responsible direction of affairs had been established. But Governor Wilson did not have the opportunity of introducing any formal change of system as the necessary basis of political support could not be obtained. Although his own views on such matters are clearly defined, he is wary of any assumption of authority unless it is clearly an incident of his position as a public trustee. Party grounds upon which he could act in this important but delicate matter were provided by the Democratic State



WOODROW WILSON, AGE 54

The picture was taken in 1910, after his election as governor of New Jersey

Convention which met October 3, 1911. Governor Wilson himself was a member and served on the platform committee. Among the resolutions adopted by the convention was the following:

"We pledge ourselves to a revision of the rules of order of the Senate and General Assembly of the State of New Jersey so as to make them more conformable to the state constitution, more fit to protect the people against the evils of slipshod lawmaking, and more apt to secure proper legislative provision for the general welfare. The conditions under which power is exercised are more important than the conditions under which power is gained, and the work which the Democratic party of this state has done and is doing to restore popular government will be incomplete unless accompanied by appropriate reforms in legislative methods."

With this party mandate to warrant the exertion of his influence, Governor Wilson might have been able to apply himself with as great energy and success in improving the whole legislative process as he had displayed in carrying through

the legislative program of his party, but the opportunity was not forthcoming. In New Jersey the peculiar arrangement exists that representatives are elected not by districts but by county general ticket. Hence, although the Democratic party had a plurality of 3,103 in the State in the 1911 elections, the Republican party obtained control of both branches of the legislature. This turn-over was chiefly due to one county, in which the party organization was controlled by the faction that had been fighting Governor Wilson ever since he took the stand he did on the senatorship question. Its twelve members were transferred from the Democratic to the Republican side. New Jersey has annual legislative sessions and only during the first year of his term did Governor Wilson have a legislative majority in political accord with him. He met the situation frankly and made the best of it. In his message to the legislature which met in January, 1912, he said:

"When the legislative session opens we become colleagues in a common service, and our standard is not party advantage but the welfare of New Jersey. We are, first of all, citizens and public

servants; our party differences are secondary to our duty as representatives and trustees. I venture upon this preface to my recommendations in order to afford myself the opportunity to say with how much pleasure I shall coöperate with the present legislature in carrying out every program that is judged to be for the common benefit. It is my duty as governor of the state and representative of all its people, to be the leader of my party in the state, indeed, but not a partisan or a strategist for mere party benefit. I am glad to think, therefore, that the matters to which I shall call your attention do not lie within the field of party debate. They are matters which we can approach without party bias or prejudice. Whatever differences of judgment may arise with regard to them, they need have no flavor of party feeling about them."

The leading topic of this message was the necessity of reducing to economic system the chaotic miscellany of state boards and commissions. He suggested the creation of an economy and efficiency commission, and remarked that in his judgment "the majority of the commission

should be experienced and trusted business men, and they should have the advice of men who have made a special study of scientific efficiency in practical administration." The legislature, however, preferred to turn the matter over to a commission, in part appointed by the President of the Senate, in part by the Speaker of the House, and in part by the Governor. The efforts of this tripartite commission did not effect any change of system. In view of the number and strength of the vested interests that would be disturbed, no systematic reorganization of state departments is ever likely to be accomplished except through such a concentration of agency and an energy of purpose as Governor Wilson might have supplied, had party opportunity brought the matter within his control.

The leading topic of Governor Wilson's second annual message, transmitted on January 14, 1913, was the need of better control of corporations. After pointing out the laxity of the existing system and the resultant abuses, he urged:

"It is our duty and our present opportunity to amend the statutes of the state, not only in this

matter, but also in such a way as to provide some responsible official supervision of the whole process of incorporation and provide, in addition, salutary checks upon unwarranted and fictitious increases of capital and the issuance of securities not based upon actual bona fide valuation. The honesty and soundness of business alike depend upon such safeguards. No legitimate business will be injured or harmfully restricted by them. These are matters which affect the honor and good faith of the state. We should act upon them at once and with clear purpose."

In pursuance of this recommendation bills were prepared which from their number became popularly known as the "Seven Sisters." The action of New Jersey in refusing asylum to bogus corporations and get-rich-quick schemes attracted national attention, and the laws are serving as legislative models in other states.

In this message, jury reform was energetically commended to the attention of the legislature, now again Democratic in both branches. On February 25, 1913, he sent in a brief special message in which he said:

"Many honorable and notable men have occupied the office of sheriff in our several counties; many men of the highest character now fill that office, but again and again by obtaining control of the office of sheriff the interests which have corrupted this state, which have defied the laws, which have built up selfish private interests, which have sought to get the state in the clutch of personal political machines, have bent the law to their uses; and I speak with absolute knowledge when I say that I know the public opinion of this state now cries out for and demands reform of no hesitating or doubtful character, which shall take the selection of grand juries out of the hands of the sheriffs and place it elsewhere."

This appeal, which bore fruit in the legislation of the session, was Governor Wilson's last important official act as the New Jersey executive. On the same day he filed his resignation, to take effect March 1, 1913.

CHAPTER VI

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

FOR convenience of examination, Woodrow Wilson's career as governor of New Jersey has been considered in its entirety. In its chronological order it overlapped his candidacy for the presidency of the United States and his election to that office. Indeed, the movement whose force transferred him from the presidency of Princeton to the governorship of New Jersey had the presidency of the nation as its ultimate objective. The movement was remarkable for its spontaneity. Mr. Wilson had no organization and made no effort to create one. A motion nominating him for the presidency was made in the Democratic State Convention of 1911, of which he was a member, but he opposed it as a proceeding inconsistent with the principle of the direct primary. He said:

"While I realize that this resolution may be taken as an expression of confidence by the gen-

tlemen who vote for it, I nevertheless feel that we would be making a mistake to make this use of this convention when we have provided so much more appropriate means of finding out the preference of the people with regard to national affairs. So I enter my earnest but respectful protest to this meeting and move that the resolution lie upon the table."

At one time it looked as if the resolution would be passed anyhow, but Governor Wilson's insistence prevailed. His only direct connection with the canvass was to give some increase to his usual practice of addressing the public frankly and fully upon public issues. His course as governor of New Jersey had attracted national attention and invitations poured in upon him whose acceptance involved visits to the different sections of the country, including the Pacific slope. Everywhere there was a strong movement of popular sentiment in his favor, and national organization was provided for it by individual action quite as spontaneous. William F. McCombs, Jr., a Princeton graduate of the class of 1898, practicing law in New York, of his own

motion started a bureau in aid of Wilson's candidacy. From the most modest beginnings the organization thus effected spread over the country, and in every state local committees sprang up, working in correspondence with the McCombs bureau. This amateur organization had to cope with the experienced campaigners who were managing presidential booms of the regulation type. The schism that had developed in the Republican party had caused a general belief that the Democratic nominee would be the next president, and there was a large field of candidates. The eventual selection of Governor Wilson to be that nominee is to be attributed to the pervasive influence of the strong popular sentiment in his favor. It permeated delegations committed to other candidates, so that when the convention met at Baltimore the strength of the Wilson movement was far greater than appeared on the surface. Nevertheless his nomination was not regarded as probable by most political observers and in the end it came rather unexpectedly. The balloting was preceded by an event in which Governor Wilson made a characteristic

display of his unflinching attachment to principle at a time when calculations of personal expediency would have counseled a different course. Indeed, in pursuing the course he did, he had to reject the advice of sincere friends who were laboring to effect his nomination. His action was generally regarded as fatal to his chances and he himself was quite prepared to take that view of it, but nevertheless he thought it the right thing to do, be the personal consequences what they might. In a struggle that took place between the progressive and conservative elements of the convention over the temporary organization, Governor Wilson alone among the candidates took an open stand against the existing party control. He declared:

"The Baltimore convention is to be a convention of progressives, of men who are progressive in principle and by conviction. It must, if it is not to be put in a wrong light before the country, express its convictions in its organization, and in its choice of the men who are to speak for it."

This action in a measure antagonized the existing official management of the party organiza-

tion, which emerged victoriously from the trial of strength on that issue, and controlled the organization of the convention. The situation was such that Wilson's nomination now seemed to be out of the range of practical politics, but when the balloting began, the convention drifted into a deadlock, its sessions were unusually protracted, and meanwhile from all over the country came manifestations of popular sentiment in favor of Wilson. Able political tacticians did their best to arrange a combination upon some other candidate, but they were unable to withstand the rising tide. Balloting began on June 28 and continued until July 2, when Woodrow Wilson was nominated on the forty-sixth ballot.

Governor Wilson received the formal notification at Seagirt, New Jersey, where the state has provided a summer home for its Chief Executive, although it does not provide him with a residence at Trenton, the capital city. In making his formal reply the candidate gave a characteristic instance of his entire frankness by remarking that he did not know enough about currency reform "to be dogmatic about it," but the plan adopted

should be one that would meet the requirements of merchants and farmers as well as of bankers, and he referred incidentally to the existence of conditions whose "existence gives rise to the suspicion of a 'Money Trust,' a concentration of the control of credit, which may at any time become infinitely dangerous to free enterprises." With regard to the general situation he observed:

"The nation has awakened to a sense of neglected ideals and neglected duties; to a consciousness that the rank and file of the people find life very hard to sustain, that her young men find opportunity embarrassed, and that her older men find business difficult to renew and maintain because of circumstances of privilege and private advantage which have interlaced their subtle threads throughout almost every part of the framework of our present law. She has awakened to the knowledge that she has lost certain cherished liberties and wasted priceless resources which she had solemnly undertaken to hold in trust for posterity and for all mankind; and to the conviction that she stands confronted with an occasion for constructive statesmanship such as

has not arisen since the great days in which her Government was set up.

"What is there to do?" he asked. In reply he instanced "two great things." One was "to set up the rule of justice and right" in matters that concern the present, such as the tariff, trust regulation, currency and labor laws. The other was to protect our people and our resources, now and in the future, by proper adjustment of questions of conservation, development, and trade. Private interests have had too much to do with governing us, and we must "effect a great readjustment and get the forces of the whole people once more into play." Nevertheless "we need no revolution, we need no excited change; we need only a new point of view and a new method and spirit of counsel."

While advocating immediate downward revision of the tariff he held that it should be managed so as not to disturb business too suddenly or too radically. "It should begin with the schedules which have been most obviously used to kill competition and to raise prices." In so far as the high cost of living has been arranged by private understanding, it may be checked by

proper regulation of trusts and monopolies. He observed:

"Big business is not dangerous because it is big, but because its bigness is an unwholesome inflation created by privileges and exemptions which it ought not to enjoy. While competition can not be created by statutory enactment, it can in large measure be revived by changing the laws and forbidding the practices that killed it, and by enacting laws that will give it heart and occasion again. . . . It will be necessary to supplement the present law with such laws, both civil and criminal, as will effectually punish and prevent those methods, adding such other laws as may be necessary to provide suitable and adequate judicial processes, whether civil or criminal, to disclose them and follow them to final verdict and judgment. They must be specifically and directly met by law as they develop."

The conclusion of his speech of acceptance was regarded as an apt reference to the personal phase of the contest, which seemed likely to be charged with unusual bitterness from the triangular contest that had developed. He remarked:

"It is not a partisan fight we are entering upon. . . . A presidential campaign may easily degenerate into a mere personal contest and so lose its real dignity and significance. There is no indispensable man. The Government will not collapse and go to pieces if any one of the gentlemen who are seeking to be entrusted with its guidance should be left at home."

The disruption of the Republican party by the Progressive movement caused Governor Wilson to receive an extraordinary majority in the electoral college. He received 435 electoral votes as against 88 for Roosevelt and 8 for Taft. He had a plurality of 2,134,499 in the popular vote but no majority over all, in which respect his case was like that of Abraham Lincoln. The distribution of the popular vote was as follows: Wilson, 6,303,063; Roosevelt, 4,168,564; Taft, 3,439,529. The most remarkable feature of the election was really not the success of Wilson, but was the strength displayed by Roosevelt with a new party and an improvised organization.

Governor Wilson took an active part in the campaign, going before the people and discussing

the issues with the same moderation and good sense that had been displayed in his speech of acceptance. The period between the nomination and the election was that in which his duties as governor were lightest. An anomaly of our political system is that after an administration is dismissed from power by the people it continues to hold office through still another legislative session. The administration that had received only 8 electoral votes remained in office during four months after its rejection at the polls, and the Congress whose successors had been elected met and held a legislative session before passing off the scene. In ordinary course a newly elected Congress does not convene until over a year after the election. It once happened in recent years that a general election in Canada took place within a few days of the presidential election in this country. The Dominion Parliament met and held an important session in which tariff action was taken, completed its business, and adjourned before our Congress, elected at the same time, had ever met. The case is one among various instances of the small actual regard for demo-

cratic principles shown in the political arrangements of the United States. An incidental result was that Governor Wilson was left to continue his work in the state for months after he was elected President. A new legislature had been elected at the same time, and it was Democratic in both branches. Governor Wilson seized the opportunity to further the legislative program of his party, particularly measures to regulate corporation behavior, and he was busily engaged in the discharge of his responsibilities as a New Jersey official up to within a few days of the time when he took the oath of office as President of the United States.

The announcement of his Cabinet was, on the whole, well received, although in some respects it occasioned surprise. This was in part due to the provincialism that is a marked characteristic of American politics, due mainly to the fact that the country has many political centers, none dominant. A man may have recognized eminence in one section while elsewhere even well-informed people ask, "Who is he?" Then again the conditions under which the President must act are

not generally understood. The existence of his constitutional functions is popularly taken to imply the existence of appropriate means for their exercise, which is not really the case. It is the duty of the President to "give to the Congress information on the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient," but there is no settled way in which he can get his measures before Congress and recommend them to consideration. Indeed, it is the habit of a President's opponents to contend that he really has no active power of recommendation, but that he is in the plight of the French king, incapable of doing more than to request that the subject be taken under consideration. The actual language of the Constitution makes it impervious to this revolutionary doctrine, although it is frequently brought forward. Nevertheless, a President finds himself in a very insecure position in the actual exercise of his constitutional initiative, and the precedents vary. In his first term Washington was able to deal with Congress directly, but at that time Congress had no system of standing

committees and it relied upon the services of the administration to prepare business for its consideration. After the committee system had been developed, it became for a time political usage to allow the administration to arrange the important committees, and to place its measures before Congress through their agency. This system lasted until the administration of John Quincy Adams, when it was swept away in the course of the new party alignments of that period, and since then there has been no direct mode by which a President can obtain action by Congress upon his recommendations. An indirect mode has, however, been developed through party agency. Nominating conventions and party platforms, which are institutions peculiar to the United States, have been evolved to bridge the gap between the Executive and the legislature, and to subject them to common purpose. The President thus possesses an actual initiative of great influence, but he derives it from his position as the head of his party and the enforcer of its discipline, and he reaches Congress through the loyalty of his party associates. The connecting

link between the Executive and Congress is the party caucus.

The actual situation had been conspicuously exhibited by what was known as "the revolt against Cannonism." Through his power to appoint committees, and to determine what measures should and what should not receive consideration, the Speaker was the arbiter of public policy. Speaker Cannon did not originate the power he exercised. It was rooted in the necessity of having some means of reaching and disposing of the public business. It has been calculated that it would take sixty years to consider in regular order the bills introduced during a session of Congress. The system, however, placed the actual control of public policy in the hands of a small group of politicians whose power rested upon advantages of position and not upon public trust and confidence. It excited such antagonism that it was suddenly overthrown by the parliamentary revolution of March 19, 1910, which took away from the Speaker the appointment of the committees and ousted him from membership on the Committee on Rules. These changes

transferred the seat of legislative authority to the party caucus, under whose direction the Committee on Rules acts. It should be understood that owing to the congested state of the calendars, it is practically impossible to reach and dispose of important legislative measures except under special orders reported by the Committee on Rules, which has power to bring in a report at any time and obtain consideration for it to the exclusion of other business until it is disposed of. These special orders may fix the time when the measure concerned shall be taken up, the length of time allotted to debate, and the time when it shall be put to vote. It used to be that this robust agency was controlled by the Speaker through a small Committee on Rules, consisting of himself and a few colleagues selected by himself. Under the new system the party caucus elects the Ways and Means Committee which acts as a committee of selection in arranging all the other committee assignments, including the Committee on Rules whose membership has been increased to ten. The caucus exercises supervision over all the committees and the Committee on Rules acts under its

orders. Although in the election of caucus officers and of officers of the House a majority of those voting binds the entire caucus, it is provided that a two-thirds vote of those present shall be necessary to bind the caucus on a question "involving party policy or principle," and moreover no member shall be bound "upon questions involving a construction of the Constitution of the United States or upon which he made contrary pledges to his constituents prior to his election."

Under the old system the ability of the President to obtain actual consideration of the measures recommended by him depended upon the favor of the Speaker; under the present system it depends upon the favor of the caucus, and its good will must be a controlling purpose in the formation of the Cabinet. Hence the selections made should not be taken as the expression of the President's own preferences, but as his recognition of the conditions under which the administration had to be conducted. If the administration had, of its own right, as is the case in Switzerland, the means of proposing measures directly

to Congress and bringing them to determination, a great simplification of political machinery would result and different standards of leadership would be set up. So far as the President could himself go, he showed his willingness to enter into direct and open relations with Congress, by reviving Washington's practice of an oral address to Congress instead of sending in a written message.

In his inaugural address he mentioned as among "the things that ought to be altered":

"A tariff which cuts us off from our proper part in the commerce of the world, violates the just principles of taxation, and makes the Government a facile instrument in the hands of private interests; a banking and currency system based upon the necessity of the Government to sell its bonds fifty years ago and perfectly adapted to concentrating cash and restricting credits; an industrial system which, take it on all its sides, financial as well as administrative, holds capital in leading strings, restricts the liberties and limits the opportunities of labor, and exploits without renewing or conserving the natural resources of

the country; a body of agricultural activities never yet given the efficiency of great business undertakings or served as it should be through the instrumentality of science taken directly to the farm, or afforded the facilities of credit best suited to its practical needs; watercourses undeveloped, waste places unreclaimed, forests untended, fast disappearing without plan or prospect of renewal, unregarded waste heaps at every mine."

In addition to the material things he emphasized the need of justice in social relations.

"There can be no equality of opportunity, the first essential of justice in the body politic, if men and women and children be not shielded in their lives, their very vitality, from the consequences of great industrial and social processes which they cannot alter, control or singly cope with. Society must see to it that it does not itself crush or weaken or damage its own constituent parts. The first duty of law is to keep sound the society it serves. Sanitary laws, pure-food laws, and laws determining conditions of labor which individuals are powerless to determine for them-

selves are intimate parts of the very business of justice and legal efficiency."

The conclusion of the address was thrilling in its effect upon the audience and remained moving and impressive when it came before the nation in cold print. He said:

"The feelings with which we face this new age of right and opportunity sweep across our heart-strings like some air out of God's own presence, where justice and mercy are reconciled and the judge and the brother are one. We know our task to be no mere task of politics, but a task which shall search us through and through, whether we be able to understand our time and the need of our people, whether we be indeed their spokesmen and interpreters, whether we have the pure heart to comprehend and the rectified will to choose our high course of action. This is not a day of triumph; it is a day of dedication. Here muster, not the forces of party, but the forces of humanity. Men's hearts wait upon us; men's lives hang in the balance; men's hopes call upon us to say what we will do. Who shall live up to the great trust? Who dares fail to try? I sum-

mon all honest men, all patriotic, all forward-looking men, to my side. God helping me, I will not fail them, if they will but counsel and sustain me."

There were no party lines in the favorable reception extended to the address, but that is in accordance with the good-humored practice of American politics. Every administration has its honeymoon period in which it starts off with the good will of everybody. But the response to the address was exceptionally marked in appreciation of its superiority to partisanship and of its large humanity.

This appreciation extended across the ocean. The London *Daily Graphic* remarked that "echoes of his noble address will bring to this Old World of ours, in its mad pursuit, international uncharitableness, bloated schemes, and military holocausts, a welcome reminder of better things and manlier strivings." The London *Daily Chronicle* characterized his words as "a striking expression of that elevated democracy which has long been absent from high politics in the United States," and added: "We look for

the influence of his spirit to spread far beyond his own country."

Although in regular course Congress would not have met until December, President Wilson convoked it to meet on April 7, so that prompt action would be taken for the fulfillment of the party's pledges. The scene that was presented when Congress met was itself the mark of a new era. The hall of the House of Representatives had been converted into a forum by the removal of desks and the introduction of benches, bringing members in closer relations so that they could hear one another and carry on an intelligent discussion of public affairs. And in the midst thereof stood the President of the United States, delivering his message in person. He occupied the reading clerk's desk, immediately in front of and somewhat below the Speaker's table, thus exemplifying his position that "the President of the United States is not a mere department of the Government, hailing Congress from some isolated island of jealous authority," but is "a human being, trying to coöperate with other human beings in a common service."

CHAPTER VII

TARIFF LEGISLATION AND TRUST CONTROL

AT the time when Woodrow Wilson entered national politics there had been a veritable collapse in the legislative function. The Government had apparently lost the power of responding to public demands or of redressing public grievances. In entering the campaign of 1908 the Republican party pledged itself for "a revision of the tariff by a special session of Congress" and as a fulfillment of that pledge the tariff of 1909 was enacted. The measure as framed by the House Committee on Ways and Means was based on the principle of protection, but it aimed to conform to the rule prescribed by the party platform, that the measure of the protection should be "the difference between the cost of production at home and abroad, together with a reasonable profit to American industries." Chairman Payne in introducing the bill dwelt upon its reasonableness as a protective measure. But when the bill

was before the Senate, 847 amendments were adopted, in numerous cases raising duties at the instance of particular interests or introducing "jokers"—that is to say, provisions whose actual effect was shrewdly concealed. Chairman Payne told the House: "Some of these amendments I have studied diligently, and I am not able to say today whether they raise or lower the rates." The generally received explanation of these "jokers" was that they were inserted as a favor to particular interests which, in consideration of liberal campaign contributions, were allowed to write the provisions of the tariff in which they were interested. Dispassionate examination of the facts does not refute the popular opinion. Professor F. W. Taussig in his standard "Tariff History of the United States" remarks:

"The whole situation was one too familiar in our tariff history: the details of legislation had been virtually arranged by persons having a direct pecuniary interest in the outcome, and having also the closest relations with the legislators controlling the outcome. Even though there was no corruption—and there is no ground for sus-

pecting anything more than generous contributions to party chests—the outcome was much the same as if there had been corruption. It illustrates once more how radically bad was the method by which the details of our tariff legislation were settled."

The actual method makes the tariff the production of the conference committee. In theory the business of the conference committee is to adjust differences between the two Houses; in practice it may change and reshape the bill, altering even rates on which there has been no disagreement between the two Houses. The report of the committee must be accepted or rejected in its entirety, so the actual legislation is privately arranged by a small group of leaders, and the force of party discipline invariably compels the House to ratify their action. The manipulation of the process by outside interests in 1909 was so notorious that President Taft was impelled to intervene, and he set an important precedent by himself entering into conference with members of the conference committee. Although by his influence he obtained some modifications, he pub-

licly criticized portions of the bill, although he had not felt justified in withholding his signature. Popular resentment was so intense that in the congressional elections of 1910 a Democratic majority of 66 was substituted for a Republican majority of 40.

In grappling with the difficult task of tariff revision the Democratic party enjoyed no exemption from the subterranean influences that are active, whatever party is in power. Responsible government is yet to be installed in the United States, and so long as existing conditions continue, tariff legislation will be more or less of a scramble of particular localities and interests to get all they can for themselves, heedless of the general welfare. In a thoroughly developed system of constitutional government, the preparation of all revenue and financial measures is the business of the organ of authority representing the nation in its entirety, under conditions which secure to the representatives of localities and particular interests full opportunity to voice their demands without the opportunity of enforcing their demands by mere advantages of position.

Switzerland, a country without any ports of its own, has very difficult and complicated tariff problems to solve, and does so with conspicuous success, by making it the business of the administration, which prepares the tariff in close consultation with business interests, publishes the proposed schedules for criticism, and eventually submits a fully matured measure to the Congress. Moreover, it is the practice of the Swiss Congress to intrust to the administration the task of incorporating in the bill any amendments voted by Congress. Such procedure effectually shuts out "jokers" and secures the predominance of public motive throughout the tariff-making process. The actual process existing in the United States was frankly revealed by Senator Vest of Missouri, in a speech on August 16, 1894:

"Sir, after my experience in the last five months, I have not an enemy in the world whom I would place in the position I have occupied as a member of the Finance Committee under the rules of the Senate. I would put no man where I have been, to be blackmailed and driven, in order to pass a bill that I believe is necessary to the

welfare of the country, by senators who desired to force amendments upon me against my better judgment and compel me to decide the question whether I will take any bill at all or a bill which has been distorted by their views and objects."

No committee figures in the business at all in any English commonwealth, except the committee of the whole house. All the members have an equal opportunity to plead or to criticize, but no member can prevent action. Members may vote measures up or down, but they cannot avoid the responsibility of passing upon them without unreasonable delay. Indeed, it is now the practice of all civilized countries to act with great expedition in such matters in order to prevent industrial strain and to protect the public revenues. The incubation of the measure is deliberate and cautious, but once matured it is put to vote and determined almost forthwith. The Congress of the United States is now the only national legislature in which means exist by which particular interests may obstruct action until their demands are satisfied.

The existence of these conditions must be

borne in mind in computing the magnitude of the administration's task. The President applied himself to it with the same alertness and forethought that he had displayed as governor of New Jersey. Matters were not allowed to drift but were given guidance and direction. The House Committee on Ways and Means began work on the measure before President Wilson took office and he entered at once into frank cooperation with them. By March 25 a complete draft of the proposed measure was in his hands, and he was prepared to support it with all the influence of his office. He made the tariff the sole topic of the message which he personally delivered to Congress when it met on April 7. In it he said:

"For a long time—a time so long that the men now active in public policy hardly remember the conditions that preceded it—we have sought in our tariff schedules to give each group of manufacturers or producers what they themselves thought that they needed in order to maintain a practically exclusive market as against the rest of the world. Consciously or unconsciously we

have built up a set of privileges and exemptions from competition behind which it was easy by any, even the crudest, forms of combination to organize monopoly; until at last nothing is normal, nothing is obliged to stand the tests of efficiency and economy in our world of big business, but everything thrives by concerted agreement. Only new principles of action will save us from a final hard crystallization of monopoly and a complete loss of the influences that quicken enterprise and keep independent energy alive."

"It is plain what those principles must be. We must abolish everything that bears even the semblance of privilege or of any kind of artificial advantage, and put our business men and producers under the stimulation of a constant necessity to be efficient, economical and enterprising masters of competitive supremacy, better workers and merchants than any in the world. Aside from the duties laid upon articles which we do not and probably cannot produce, therefore, and the duties laid upon luxuries and merely for the sake of the revenues they yield, the object of the tariff duties henceforth laid must be effective competi-

tion, the whetting of American wits by contest with the wits of the rest of the world."

While the proposed measure was framed on these principles, it moved cautiously in applying them. The transition was to be gradual. As to this, President Wilson said:

"It would be unwise to move toward this end headlong, with reckless haste, or with strokes that cut at the very roots of what has grown up among us by long process and at our own invitation. It does not alter a thing to upset it and break it and deprive it of a chance to change. It destroys it."

The tariff bill was explained in detail by Chairman Underwood of the Ways and Means Committee and it passed the House on May 8. It was before the Senate all summer, and did not come to a vote until the close of September. Agreement between the two Houses was soon reached and the bill became law on October 3. Throughout the arduous process the influence of the administration was steadily exerted in favor of party support of the measure. Party caucuses passed upon the important issues; differ-

ences were adjusted, dissensions avoided, and party cohesion was maintained with impressive results. Professor Taussig in his dispassionate review of the proceedings remarks:

"To this success the attitude of the administration contributed most effectively. President Wilson had quietly but unhesitatingly assumed leadership and secured a hold on his associates and followers which astonished friend and enemy."

The energy and courage with which President Wilson acts upon his conceptions of public duty were signally exemplified when the usual tariff lobby had gathered in Washington and the bill had apparently stuck in the same old Senate ruts. The President was ready to meet the issue. He publicly stated that he had "taken his stand with the House leaders for the present bill" and that he was "not looking for or accepting compromises;" he then startled his opponents by directing public attention to the tariff lobby. Probably no other presidential utterance ever had such a tremendous reverberation throughout the country. He said:

"I think that the public ought to know the extraordinary exertions being made by the lobby in Washington to gain recognition for certain alterations of the Tariff Bill. Washington has seldom seen so numerous, so industrious, or so insidious a lobby. The newspapers are being filled with paid advertisements calculated to mislead not only the judgment of the public men, but also the public opinion of the country itself. There is every evidence that money without limit is being spent to maintain this lobby, and to create the appearance of a pressure of public opinion antagonistic to some of the chief items of the Tariff Bill.

"It is of serious interest to the country that the people at large should have no lobby, and be voiceless in these matters, while great bodies of astute men seek to create an artificial opinion and to overcome the interests of the public for their private profit. It is thoroughly worth the while of the people of this country to take knowledge of this matter. Only public opinion can check and destroy it.

"The Government in all its branches ought to

be relieved of this intolerable burden and this constant interruption to the calm progress of debate. I know that in this I am speaking for the members of the two Houses, who would rejoice as much as I would to be released from this unbearable situation."

To this policy of frank appeal to public opinion, and to this reliance upon publicity as the means of obtaining proper action, the passage of the bill is to be ascribed.

Discussion of the merits of a tariff bill is usually a Tweedledum and Tweedledee performance. Its advocates say it is a great reform; its opponents say it will ruin the country. The truth of the matter is that only experts are able to judge of the suitability of the rates of duty provided. One does not have to be an expert to observe that this measure was more distinctly actuated by public motives than its predecessor. As to the actual value of the tariff act of 1913 the judgment of an expert like Professor Taussig, who studies the subject without regard to party consequences and solely for the purpose of getting at the truth, is worth far more than all cam-

paign oratory. For a complete analysis of the bill the latest edition of his "Tariff History of the United States" should be consulted. Of its general character he remarks:

"The Senate made many amendments to the House bill; and at the last moment a quantity of details had to be settled in the hurried meetings of a Conference Committee. It is to be said, however, that the conflicting amendments and eventual compromises gave little evidence, if indeed any at all, of the sort of manipulation which had affected the details of the tariff acts of 1890, 1897, and 1909."

Professor Taussig expresses his surprise that in previous tariff legislation, the avowed motive of which was to strengthen the protective system, there should have been "so many loopholes for the dishonest importer." He notes that careful attention was given to this administrative problem in the act of 1913.

"The pertinent sections of the tariff accordingly were largely rewritten. That they were substantially improved was the judgment of specialists competent on this intricate subject. . . .

Not of least interest to economists and others having occasion to study the course of foreign trade were provisions for the better collection and arrangement of the statistics of imports. There was ground for suspecting these of serious inaccuracies in the past. On the whole, the administrative provisions were well drawn. . . ."

Thus to impartial opinion the tariff act of 1913 reveals itself as an honestly conceived and a skillfully devised measure. It certainly possesses this unique characteristic that it was exactly what it pretended to be; at last the people got just what they bargained for. Professor Taussig remarks:

"To speak of the act as introducing complete free trade would be absurd; but it might well be spoken of as beginning a policy of much moderated protection, and of opening the policy of still further changes in the same direction at a later date. . . . This method of dealing with our commercial system seems to be more in accord with the general trend of industrial development in the United States, than the rigid protectionism of 1890, 1897, and 1909. It looks to a growth not of those manufactures which are anxiously

dependent on tariff protection, but of those able to hold their own, within the country and without, on terms of equality, or something approaching equality, with foreign competitors."

If one compares this measured opinion of the character of the measure actually enacted with the outline of purpose given in President Wilson's tariff address to the House, one may note an exactness of correspondence between promise and fulfillment that is rare in our political history. It is not improbable that when the politics of these times of ours come under the scientific scrutiny of future historians there may be noted important ethical results of the mode and character of tariff revision as planned and effected under the Wilson administration. It may have occurred to business interests that have heretofore deemed it necessary to make such expenditures and establish such connections as would enable them to exert private influence upon tariff legislation, that perhaps it might be better to come out into the open and trust their case to its merits. The tariff legislation of 1913 gave such a practical assurance of honest and intelligent considera-

tion of all interests that hereafter the exchanging of financial favor for legislative influence may be much less apt to occur. Such a system has notoriously existed in the past. The president of a great corporation once bluntly told a committee of the Senate, "Every individual and corporation and firm, trust, or whatever you call it, does these things, and we do them." [1] Correspondence has gotten into public print displaying legislators in receipt of large sums from corporations with whom they were in consultation with regard to appointments to office and the details of pending measures. Surely the introduction of methods of legislation that give a prominent place to administrative initiative and to collective party responsibility, with corresponding diminution of private and illicit opportunity, will be recognized as a gain to political morality. It should quite as surely be recognized as a gain to business security. On no point does history give clearer instruction than that a government that falls under plutocratic control is doomed. When wealth

[1] Senate Report, No. 606, Fifty-third Congress, second session, pp. 351, 352.

takes charge of legislation it lays itself open to spoliation. Relief from conditions that virtually forced wealthy interests into that dangerous function ought to be reckoned as a benefit of inestimable value.

The passage of the tariff act was promptly followed by legislation in regard to business and industrial conditions. This was the subject of a special message delivered to a joint session of the two Houses on January 20, 1914. He remarked that in regard to monopolies and the various means by which they have been organized and maintained, public opinion "seems to be coming to a clear and almost universal agreement" in anticipation of Government action. The measures recommended were:

"Laws which will effectually prohibit and prevent such interlockings of the directorates of great corporations—banks and railroads, industrial, commercial and public service bodies—as in effect result in making those who borrow and those who lend practically one and the same, those who sell and those who buy but the same persons trading with one another under different names

and in different combinations, and those who affect to compete in fact partners and masters of some whole field of business. . . . .

"A law which will confer upon the Interstate Commerce Commission the power to superintend and regulate the financial operations by which the railroads are henceforth to be supplied with the money they need for their proper development, to meet the rapidly growing requirements of the country for increased and improved facilities of transportation. . . .

"Further and more explicit legislative definition of the policy and meaning of the existing anti-trust law. . . . We are sufficiently familiar with the actual processes and methods of monopoly and of the many hurtful restraints of trade to make definition possible—at any rate up to the limits of what experience has disclosed. These practices, being now abundantly disclosed, can be explicitly and item by item forbidden by statute in such terms as will practically eliminate uncertainty, the law itself and the penalty being made equally plain."

In pursuance of these recommendations, bills

were passed creating an Interstate Trade Commission which takes over functions previously exercised by the Bureau of Corporations, but with increased powers; also, an anti-trust act supplementing existing laws against unlawful restraints and monopolies. These bills assert public authority to an extent that is a decided advance for the United States but still leaves this country much in the rear of civilized nations in legal provision against exploitation of the people by business adventurers and high financiers. Indeed the substitution of management for exploitation is an improvement in American political and industrial conditions which has been barely begun, and no more can be claimed for President Wilson's administration than that he made a good beginning on a task that for difficulty might be classed among the labors of Hercules.

CHAPTER VIII

CURRENCY REFORM

A FAR more formidable undertaking than tariff reform was currency reform. In the one case there had been a definition of purpose that received popular assent and approval. The main task was in conducting the measure safely through the ambushes laid for it in the complications of legislative procedure and in guarding its honesty against the corrupting influences to which it would be exposed during the ordeal. In the other case there was the greatest variety and distraction of sentiment. Rarely have statesmen had to deal with such a snarl of virulent animosities as that in which the whole subject of currency reform was entangled, and meanwhile conditions had become such as to require radical treatment. The currency system then existing had not originated as a system of currency supply, but as a revenue measure during the Civil War. In order to create a market for Govern-

ment bonds and to enhance their value, it was provided that a bank obtaining a charter from the national Government could issue notes proportioned to the Government bonds owned by the bank and deposited to secure circulation. To create a market for such note issues, a prohibitory tax was laid upon all other banknote issues, wiping them out of existence. Thus the circulating medium had no relation to the needs of business; indeed, the greater the need the less became banking provision for it. When business was particularly active and a properly organized banking system would have been supporting the activity by timely supplies of currency, that was just the time when the national banking system would become cramped and obstructive. What was termed "moving the crops" was offered as a sufficient explanation of a regularly recurrent seasonal stringency, peculiar to the United States, and the larger the crops the more acute the stringency was likely to be, it being the peculiarity of this remarkable system that a big increase of national assets, instead of facilitating the functions of the banks, seemed to smite them with partial

paralysis. Another peculiarity was that the note issues were at any time liable to be withdrawn from circulation altogether. This was due to the fact that they were in effect Government bonds in liquid form and were good no matter what became of the particular banks in whose name they were issued. Thus, while ordinarily the effect of financial uneasiness is to push note issues into rapid circulation while coin becomes scarce, in the United States the notes would suddenly disappear. The effect upon trade was much as if the water had suddenly leaked out of a river channel, leaving the fish flopping about and gasping in the mud.

The existence of such conditions was naturally and inevitably a copious source of public discontent, producing from time to time movements which the governing set of politicians were in the habit of describing as popular crazes, but which were really instinctive protests against their own obtuseness and incapacity. Although ability to institute the needed reforms seemed to be lacking, yet the existing system was so crazy that it could not go on at all without constant nursing and at-

tendance. From time to time, mainly through administrative action, the bond basis of circulation was enlarged, thus admitting of additional currency supply with like disabilities and infirmities to the preceding supply. Stress of necessity compelled some provision for emergency issues based upon assets. Meanwhile popular sentiment was suspicious and distrustful, and the desired legislation could be obtained only by bullying Congress. No other term will fit the case. On one occasion, a committee chairman told the House: "I have the report of the conference on the Public Buildings bill in my pocket. I am going to keep it there until a satisfactory currency bill is passed." [1]

Along with these provisional arrangements a currency commission was created which made a voluminous report. The immediate legislative outcome was what was designated the Aldrich Bill, the essential feature of which was that it adopted the principle of currency supply based upon assets and placed emissions under the control of a central bank, to be managed and directed

[1] Congressional Record, May 30, 1908

by the subsidiary banks. This scheme was regarded as being contrived so much more to fortify the position of the banks than to assure their proper service to the public, that it was denounced both in the Democratic platform and the Progressive party platform, and was avoided in the Republican platform.

Such was the situation when President Wilson had to address himself to the task of currency reform. His method was the simple and straightforward one of actively exerting the authority and influence of his office to effect concentration of party purpose and to secure definite action. He did not have any plan of his own nor did he pretend to expert knowledge of the subject, but his character and activity supplied means by which an influential connection was established between the legislative process and instructed opinion. His party had able and experienced leaders in the House whose efforts were now invigorated by administrative support, emphasized by the fact that the President was an active party to the conferences and negotiations by which the bill was shaped. As in the case of the tariff bill,

the party leaders in the House had wisely made an early start, and a preliminary draft of currency legislation had been prepared before President Wilson was inaugurated. All the details were carefully considered in conference with the President, with the result that when the bill was ready for presentation it ranked as an administration measure which the President would use all his influence to promote, and he signified this by making it the subject of a special message.

The tariff bill had been out of the House for over a month and was now toiling its weary way through the Senate, when on June 23, 1913, the President of the United States, attended by members of his Cabinet and escorted by a joint committee of senators and representatives, entered the hall of the House, and standing at the clerk's desk, delivered his message. He began by saying that he was acting under the compulsion of what seemed a clear and imperative duty.

"I know, of course, that the heated season of the year is upon us, that work in these Chambers and in the committee rooms is likely to become a burden as the season lengthens, and that every

consideration of personal convenience and personal comfort, perhaps, in the cases of some of us, considerations of personal health even, dictate an early conclusion of the deliberations of the session; but there are occasions of public duty when these things which touch us privately seem very small; when the work to be done is so pressing and so fraught with big consequence that we know that we are not at liberty to weigh against it any point of personal sacrifice. We are now in the presence of such an occasion. It is absolutely imperative that we should give the business men of this country a banking and currency system by means of which they can make use of the freedom of enterprise and of individual initiative which we are about to bestow upon them."

The address, which was so brief that it occupied only half an hour in its delivery, coupled the currency bill with the tariff bill. To strike the shackles off business was not enough. It should have the means of caring for itself and enlarging its activities. Currency reform was the proper adjunct of tariff reform. As to the character of the measure he said:

"The country has sought and seen its path in this matter within the last few years—sees it more clearly now than it ever saw it before—much more clearly than when the last legislative proposals on the subject were made. We must have a currency not rigid as now, but readily, elastically responsive to sound credit, the expanding and contracting credits of every-day transactions, the normal ebb and flow of personal and corporate dealings. Our banking laws must mobilize reserves; must not permit the concentration anywhere in a few hands of the monetary resources of the country or their use for speculative purposes in such volume as to hinder or impede or stand in the way of other more legitimate, more fruitful uses. And the control of the system of banking and of issue which our new laws are to set up must be public, not private, must be vested in the Government itself, so that the banks may be the instruments, not the masters, of business and of individual enterprise and initiative."

The address concluded with a frank avowal of his own part in the proposals, and at the same time made a clear statement of his ideas of the

constitutional function of his office. He said:

"The committees of the Congress to which legislation of this character is referred have devoted careful and dispassionate study to the means of accomplishing these objects. They have honored me by consulting me. They are ready to suggest action. I have come to you as the head of the Government and the responsible leader of the party in power, to urge action now, while there is time to serve the country deliberately and as we should, in a clear air of common counsel. I appeal to you with a deep conviction of duty. I believe that you share this conviction. I therefore appeal to you with confidence. I am at your service without reserve to play my part in any way you may call upon me to play it in this great enterprise of exigent reform, which it will dignify and distinguish us to perform and discredit us to neglect."

With this explicit recommendation there was presented to Congress the bill for currency reform, the outcome of which was the Federal Reserve Act. That epochal enactment had a hard road to travel; the vested interests it disturbed

were numerous and powerful; attempts to manipulate its provisions were energetic and sustained, but its main points were subjected to no serious change. This success was due to the care taken to secure party cohesion. When the case in its support had been thoroughly prepared it was submitted to the Democratic party caucus of the House. Two weeks of animated discussion followed behind closed doors, where, in the privacy of a party conclave, members gave free expression to any doubts, scruples or objections entertained. The magnitude of the innovation proposed supplied matter for wide-ranging criticism, but as a result of patient explanation and full consideration a hearty party agreement was reached and the bill was assured of steady and united party support. The legislative machinery controlled by the Committee on Rules, acting under caucus instruction, was now set into brisk operation. On September 9 an elaborate report upon the provisions of the measure was submitted to the House by its Banking and Currency Committee. Debate upon it began on September 10 and it passed the House on September 18, receiv-

ing 286 votes to 84 against. Although before proposing the measure the House committee had devoted a long time to public hearings upon it, additional hearings were allowed by the Senate Banking Committee, lasting until October 25. A month of committee consideration followed; then came three days of Senate caucus consideration, and at last, on December 1, the bill was reported to the Senate. This delay in the progress of the measure was largely due to the opposition of banking interests clinging tenaciously to the old project of one central bank under banking control. Vehement opposition to various features of the pending act were expressed by associations of bankers, and in some respects the tone of criticism emanating from banking interests suggested that an incidental effect of the vicious system the administration was striving to reform was moral and intellectual deficiency among those whose habits and opinions had been formed under that system. The opposition was sufficiently influential to produce a party break in the Senate, one result of which was to divide the banking committee into two numerically equal

sections, one of which reported the administration bill with amendments, and the other reported a substitute measure. When the struggle was at its height the attitude of banking interests became rather menacing, conditions being mentioned without which they would refuse to do business under the law. Tremendous pressure was brought to bear upon the President, but he would not budge a particle from the position he had taken in support of the House measure. The situation having been thoroughly explored, and it having become manifest that either the essential features of the House bill would have to be accepted or else currency reform would fail of enactment at that session, the banking opposition subsided to a marked extent. Just when the tension was most acute the president of the largest bank in the country performed a timely public service by avowing to the Senate committee that the House measure was based upon sound principles and that much of the opposition was due to the selfishness of some and the ignorance of others. After that event evidences of a disposition to accept the situation and make the best of it

began to appear, and when it again got under way the bill moved on briskly to final enactment. Senate debate began on December 1, the final vote was taken December 19, the Committee on Conference reached an agreement on December 22, and the President signed the bill the following day—a magnificent Christmas gift from the Democratic party to the nation.

Immediately after its passage the Federal Reserve Act was characterized by the *Bankers' Magazine* as being "probably the most comprehensive piece of banking legislation ever enacted in this country." The structural principles are, however, simple. The thousands of national banks scattered throughout the country like so many separate wells were brought together into one system in which they stand as local conduits from a national reservoir. The country was divided into twelve districts, in each of which is a federal reserve bank, with which the member banks of the district keep their reserves and from which they can obtain supplies of currency on occasion by rediscount of their holdings of securities and commercial paper. Each reserve bank

has its own board of directors, nine in number, six of whom are to be chosen by the member banks upon a preferential ballot scheme, and three are appointed by the Federal Reserve Board, which exercises general supervision over the system. This Board is composed of the secretary of the treasury, the comptroller of the currency, and five other members appointed by the President, and it wields such extensive powers of supervision, direction and control that it is the administrative center of the system. There is also a body designated the Federal Advisory Council, chosen by the banks and consisting of as many members as there are federal reserve districts. The powers of this body are purely consultative, but its existence provides the banks with an organ of their own for representations to the Federal Reserve Board or for concert of action among themselves on matters of common interest. The federal reserve banks have general banking powers, and with the consent of the Federal Reserve Board may establish agencies in foreign countries. Indeed the act supplies a powerful engine for establishing the United States as a center of

international banking, and already it has had the effect of promoting great enterprises in the foreign commerce of the nation.

The composition of the Federal Reserve Board was generally recognized as strong and well balanced. In making the appointments President Wilson braved prejudice by selecting one Wall Street financier, adhering to his choice in the face of opposition so strong that it was with manifest reluctance that the Senate finally confirmed the appointment. The act was warmly approved by financial experts outside of the banking world, as their knowledge of financial history made them well aware that the public control to which our bankers objected so strenuously was an ordinary feature of the situation in civilized countries. It is rather a significant circumstance that banking organs which started out by treating the Act as a thing of very doubtful value gradually swung around to the position of favoring an extension of its scope. In its issue for January, 1915, the *Bankers' Magazine* declared:

"Under the operations of the Federal Reserve System it seems quite reasonable to hope that pan-

ics due to national bank suspensions are a thing of the past, for the flexibility of the note issues now provided for, and the rediscounting privilege accessible to all members, practically assure any solvent bank against demands that will compel suspension."

It then argued that state banks should be brought under the system, thus extending the jurisdiction of the Federal Reserve Board over all the credit institutions of the United States.

Whatever bitterness or resentment was left after the Act was swept away by the outbreak of the European War. The thought that the country might have had to face the financial disturbance caused by that event with no more facilities than the crazy old system supplied was simply appalling. Every business man felt a sense of relief in the knowledge that all the national resources could be promptly mobilized to meet the shock and that an adequate supply of circulating medium was assured. It now begins to appear that what was the most bitterly contested measure of President Wilson's administration may rank as its most memorable achievement.

CHAPTER IX

THE SITUATION IN THE PHILIPPINES

AT the time President Wilson took office, with heavy arrears of domestic legislation to dispose of, he was forthwith confronted with external problems of extreme urgency. The collapse of constitutional government in Mexico was an untoward event whose dangerous possibilities were fully recognized by public opinion, however views might differ as to our national policy in the circumstances. The menace of the situation in the Philippines was really greater, but there was no popular apprehension of it, and the measures taken by the administration have never been viewed in their proper perspective. Philippine affairs have become rather a bore to the American people, from the way they have figured in a rather factitious dispute over imperialism. The prevailing sentiment seems to be that, whatever name be given to the relation, circumstances have made this country responsible for the orderly

government of those islands, and, however disagreeable the task may be, that responsibility must be sustained. It is well within popular recollection that we entered the country as allies of the Filipinos, that subsequently there was a rupture and that to subdue the country military force was employed at an expense of about $200,000,000. But it appears that since then our government of that country has been actuated by philanthropic principles and a sincere and persevering attempt has been made to introduce the American language and also American political institutions in as rapid installments as may be safe or practicable. Meanwhile we have our own affairs to attend to and are not disposed to be diverted from consideration of them by Filipino complaints or by the agitations of American sympathizers. Such appears to be the general attitude of public opinion in this country, and in accord with it the press is apt to throw cold water upon any movement for the redress of Filipino grievances. Postponement is always in order when that subject is up for legislative consideration.

In order to comprehend the situation and get some notion of the national perils with which it is fraught, it should be viewed as the Filipinos view it, and we should consider how we ourselves should feel and act were we in their place. The Filipinos regard American rule about as we should have felt about French rule if, during our Revolutionary War, the French Government had seized the opportunity of taking possession of America for itself, taking the position that the best interests of the people required that the French language and French political institutions should supersede the native variety in order to establish more advanced standards of culture. As a matter of fact the Filipinos, like other Oriental peoples, have a very ancient culture of their own, with a marked literary and artistic polish. Moreover, they have been long in contact with European culture. As a region of civilization the country is older than the United States. Permanent Spanish settlement began over forty years before the first English settlement at Jamestown. The Filipino gentry speak Spanish and the masses speak native dialects which are

not low languages, but are refined and capable instruments of thought, producing poetry, drama and romantic literature, although deficient in science. The national manners are courteous and refined, and the exhibition of members of savage tribes as Filipino types gives about as fair an idea of the Filipino people as would be given if blanketed Indians were exhibited as specimens of the American people. The civilized Filipinos number over 7,000,000, and the wild tribes—between whom and the civilized people there is little contact—number about 650,000.

It will probably be admitted that to change the mother tongue of seven million people is a formidable undertaking. It was sought to be accomplished by the importation of a thousand American school-teachers, although the actual number in the service at one time never reached that figure. The school-teachers did accomplish wonders, as the present writer can testify from personal observations made in every part of the archipelago. Indeed in every branch of service the staff of American officials has a record of achievement that affords impressive evidence of

the energy and adaptability of American character. But at the same time the project of converting the Filipinos into American citizens who may some day be safely intrusted with political institutions of the ordinary American type has been a complete failure, and perseverance in the attempt can only lead to increasing irritation and eventual disaster.

As an incident of the educational scheme, literacy qualifications for the suffrage were confined to those who could read and write either Spanish or English. This provision, while designed to stimulate acquisition of English speech, had incidentally the effect of propagating grave misrepresentations of the situation. Attention has often been called to the fact that the qualified electorate is an extraordinarily small percentage of the adult male population, thus indicating that illiteracy generally prevails. But this is not really the case, and it appears to be so merely because natives who cannot read and write a foreign language are officially classed as illiterate. Probably it is the only instance in history in which people who can read and write their own

language are classed as illiterate. As a matter of fact the Filipinos have a talent for literacy, and even among the peasantry, who have only native culture, ability to read and write is a common accomplishment.

The American schools have widely diffused a knowledge of English among the rising generation and it is eagerly sought through appreciation of its advantages in fitting one for a government position or for a professional career. Statistics based upon school reports have been published indicating encouraging progress in the spread of English as the common language of the Philippines, but such statistics are fallacious. As well might the number of pupils receiving instruction in Latin in our schools be taken as an indication of the extent to which Latin is spoken in the United States. As a matter of fact Spanish is more than ever the language of polite society, of judicial proceedings and of legislation. More people are speaking Spanish than when American occupation began, and indirectly the American schools have promoted that result, inasmuch as educational advance of any kind incites desire

to attain the language spoken in good society and thus establish one's position in the *illustrado* class. This disposition reacts upon the quality of English when it is used. Outside of circles in such close contact with American officials as to feel the influence of their example, the Spanish vowel sounds are used, with the result that one could hardly recognize as English what purports to be such. Meanwhile the hold of native dialect is apparently not shaken at all, but on the contrary its use is being strengthened by the activity of patriotic sentiment. Native dialect is the medium through which the abundant literature of Filipino politics reaches the masses, and at present it looks as if the vernacular will be the permanent channel of popular thought and feeling. A fact that is conclusive as to the actual state of the case is that although there are over forty native newspapers and magazines in the Philippines not one of them is published in English. The regular form is a Spanish section and a dialect section. The most widely circulated American newspaper has a Spanish section. Step by step the Government has been forced to take action making

practical admission of defeat on the language question. It was enacted that English should be the sole official language after January 1, 1906, but sheer pressure of administrative necessity compelled postponement, first to January 1, 1911, and then to January 1, 1913. For something over a month in 1913, English was nominally the only language accepted in judicial proceedings or in Government business, but as a matter of fact the requirement was absolutely impracticable. The administration got out of a painful dilemma by the Act of February 11, 1913, which declared English to be *the* official language of the Philippines, but that Spanish should be *an* official language until January 1, 1920. The terms of the Act are simply a strategic veil cast over a decisive defeat on the language question. The postponement to 1920 is in effect an abandonment of the struggle to force English into use.

If we can imagine how we should feel if we were systematically depicted as ignorant and illiterate because we were in the habit of using our own language and not a foreign language, some

notion may be had of the offense given to Filipino national sentiment. Insults hurt more than injuries. The state of chronic exasperation thus incited was aggravated by the character of the political institutions imposed upon the country by the Act of Congress of July 1, 1902. One might have thought that it would be a principle of policy to allow the Filipinos to have institutions molded to their own desire as long as these were conformable to the peace and order of society. The constitution of their short-lived republic had admirable features which might well have been adopted, but instead of that, institutions were introduced which we ourselves could never endure. During the eighteenth century it was a common arrangement to check a popular assembly by a separate appointive council combining executive and legislative functions. The American colonies had sad experience of such institutions. They have always worked badly, causing the assembly to be the perpetual theater of faction violence while the council is the scene of discord and intrigue. Hence such institutions have long since gone into the discards of political

science. The last instance of the deliberate adoption of such a system in our home politics was probably the Act of February 21, 1871, establishing a territorial form of government in the District of Columbia. In its practical operation it turned out to be such an intolerable nuisance that in 1874 it was abolished. In it there was an appointive council of eleven members serving as the upper house of the legislature, just as became the case with the Philippine Commission. The structural resemblance is such that a curious researcher guided by law books alone might be led to infer that the old District of Columbia scheme served as a model for Philippine constitution making, and that it was expected of the people of that country to work institutions that we were not ourselves able to work successfully. But the truth is that the resemblance is wholly fortuitous and without any causal significance whatever. The governmental arrangements of the Philippines took their shape from the fact that they were originally governed by authority of the President, which he exercised through an appointed commission. When in 1902 Congress

took over the government of the country, the existing system was retained with the incongruous provision that the Filipinos should be allowed to elect a representative assembly. The Filipino nation was thus placed in the plight of Tantalus, with plenty close at hand, but always out of reach. Real authority was concentrated in the commission, which was kept separate from the assembly so that its acts were not exposed to effective criticism. Certain members of the commission held the administrative portfolios and constituted the executive branch of the government. These same executive heads in conjunction with their associates on the commission constituted the upper house of the legislature, and it was its habit to meet behind closed doors. In our colonial period the conflict and disturbance that naturally ensued from such partition of authority were apt to turn in favor of the representative assembly through its control over appropriations, but this recourse was denied to the Filipino nation, as the governor-general had authority himself to make the appropriations in case the assembly failed to vote them.

This mockery of representative government exists in Porto Rico as well as the Philippines, and the bitter discontents which are everywhere and always the result of political arrangements of such character abound in both countries. But in the Philippines these discontents are associated with an active and general national sentiment aiming at independence, and at the time President Wilson took office the situation was critical. For three years there had been a deadlock between the assembly and the commission over the appropriations, and the governor-general had himself made the appropriations, apportioning them from time to time as he saw fit. One need only remember American history to get some notion of the burning indignation of the Filipino people and the dangerous possibilities of the situation. In dealing with it President Wilson was not in a position to introduce a change of system. No radical alteration in the character of the government is possible until the Act of July 1, 1902, is repealed. President Wilson had to move within the narrow limits of this act and he effected a profound change in the situation by

the exertion of personal influence. Extracts from his messages and public utterances indicating a sympathetic appreciation of Filipino grievances were eagerly seized upon by the native press and the publicity given to them had a tranquilizing effect. The introduction of the Jones bill was also a gratifying circumstance, and although the long delay that attended action on that measure has been trying, confidence in President Wilson has kept the people calm. The following message, in a letter of March 12, 1915, to the Hon. Manuel L. Quezon, was given general circulation by the native press:

"I will be very much obliged if you will take some occasion when you are at home to express the admiration I have felt for the self-respecting behavior of the people of the Philippines in the midst of agitations which intimately affect their whole political future. Nothing is needed to establish their full reputation with the people of the United States as a people capable of self-possession and self-government but a continuation in the moderate and constitutional course which they have pursued."

Early in the course of President Wilson's administration the personnel of the Philippine Commission was changed and since then relations between the commission and the assembly have improved so much that the old deadlocks no longer occur and the appropriations are passed in a constitutional way. The internal discord characteristic of that type of government has not been wholly eliminated, but it has been much less mischievous. A splendid achievement of the new Philippine Commission has been the solution of the Moro problem. Under the previous administration the Moro country was turned over to the military authorities. Strong garrisons were maintained in the country to overawe the tribesmen, but occasionally Moro forays took place on such a large scale that large bodies of troops had to be put into the field. The Moros fight with desperate resolution, and their women are on the battle line with the men, almost indistinguishable in appearance. Hence with every battle there would be a shocking butcher's bill, and there have been times when public opinion in the United States was deeply stirred by reports and pictures

of the heaps of slain, creating a state of sentiment whose political reactions hampered the army management. During the presidential campaign of 1912 our troops were held quietly in garrison at Jolo, while about ten miles away a force of several thousand Moros were encamped, pillaging the country and terrorizing the peasantry; and not until after the election was over was any serious attempt made to stop them by force.

The new administration determined upon a radical change of policy. Constabulary supervision was substituted for the army management and an American civilian official was made governor of the Moro province. This was an administrative application of the principle that prevention is better than cure. Constabulary supervision means that native policemen are constantly mixing among the people, incidentally getting news of what is going on. If a Moro potentate is thinking of going on a raid he begins to sack rice, collect supplies, and gather munitions, and now he cannot more than begin his preparations before the constabulary are on the scene wanting to know what he is about. The Moro situation

is essentially an anachronism. It is an accidental preservation to our own times of a state of sentiment whose past existence in Europe was illustrated by Viking raids, Norman forays, Algerine piracy, etc. Gallant spirits among the Moros retain those ancient standards of honorable adventure and have hankerings to give them practical application. Before the age of steam the Moros, with their swift sailing vessels, were the scourge of the islands, but they do not constitute a real peril now, except through local outbreaks, which can be readily suppressed if dealt with in their incipiency. That the new methods adopted by the commission would have important results was promptly recognized in the Philippines. The Manila *Philippines Free Press* of July 25, 1914, editorially remarked:

"One of the disillusionments Americans would better begin to prepare for these days is the exploding of the time-honored Moro myth. Otherwise the shock is apt to jar them. Not that the Moro problem is settled by any means; but that there is reason to believe a beginning has been made. Doubtless the ancient superstition that

the Moro would eat up the Christian Filipino alive will die hard; and we see that Taft and Worcester are still exploiting it in the United States; but its days are numbered."

The new policy has indeed exploded the Moro myth. The country has been kept in order, industrial tendencies are getting the upper hand discouraging the old predatory tastes, and there are no more of those shocking catastrophes of mutual slaughter by our troops and the tribesmen. Although the ordinary attitude of the local American press to the administration is censorious, the practical success attained in dealing with complicated problems is now generally conceded, and the admission is the more significant since it is made rather grudgingly. In its issue of November 13, 1915, the *Philippines Free Press,* which is the American paper of largest circulation, said:

"For ourselves, we confess to a certain measure of sympathy with our Bourbons of the old imperialism, and, like them, sigh for a return of the good old times of material prosperity. Should they come with the present administration, it

were a consummation devoutly to be wished; but, should they demand another administration, then we trust that administration will be mellowed by a continuation of the present era of good feeling. For, as Americans first, we should rejoice in that feature of the present régime. Whatever may be thought of the Philippine policy of this administration, fairness demands that recognition be given to a harmony between the two peoples, American and Filipino, such as before was sadly lacking. Nor, in the light of the present unrest in certain dominions of the British empire and the menace it constitutes, should there be much need of stress being laid on the principle of "the consent of the governed," or on harmony as a first essential in our political relations here.

"We also confess to a certain sympathy, or rather commiseration, with our Bourbons of the old régime who cannot see other excellencies in the present administration. The lofty and enlightened statesmanship now being shown in the winning of the Moro and the amalgamation of the peoples in Mindanao is as superior to the policy of the former dynasty as the twentieth cen-

tury to the Middle Ages, and no American who professes a desire to see our work here established on sure foundations and crowned with lasting success but should experience a sense of profound gratification in the magnificent achievement being wrought there, and ardently hope for its deserved consummation.

"Now that we have emerged also from the fretful fever and apprehension of those first trying days when it seemed that the very edifice of government was tumbling about our ears, fairness again demands acknowledgment that the cataclysm expected and predicted has not supervened. In the reconstruction of the government personnel a high standard, with some natural exceptions, has been maintained, and even where Filipino has been substituted for American there generally has been no marked retrogression. In some cases it may even be said that the acquisition has been as a tower of strength to the government, and the appointment been more than justified."

CHAPTER X

THE MEXICAN QUESTION

ALTHOUGH the area of the Philippines is considerably less than one-sixth that of Mexico, the population is more than half that of Mexico, amounting in the one case to 74 per square mile as against less than 18 in the other. Mexico is right alongside of our own country, while the Philippines are some 10,000 miles away. As a military problem the task of coping with hostile conditions in Mexico would be small compared to what it would be in the Philippines, but the greater menace has hardly been noticed and the measures taken to avert it have attracted little or no attention, whereas there has been keen solicitude as to the possible entanglements of this country in Mexican affairs. At the time President Wilson took office the choice seemed to lie between recognition of General Huerta or intervention, and on each side clamorous appeal was made. Business interests generally favored

recognition, for although Huerta's accession to power had been attended by the assassination of his predecessor, yet it was a fact that he was in power and apparently his authority was the only available basis of public order. On this ground European recognition was extended and President Wilson incurred severe criticism at home and abroad for holding aloof. The explanation is that President Wilson had in view permanent interests rather than present convenience. Back of the revolutionary game lies financial exploitation, and if that is allowed to go on there is no limit to the process, short of the complete exhaustion of the country. President Wilson therefore steadfastly refused to give any countenance to Huerta's authority, although not directly antagonizing it, and emphatically disavowing any desire to interfere with Mexico's affairs. Just a week after assuming office President Wilson issued a statement in which he said:

"One of the chief objects of my Administration will be to cultivate the friendship and deserve the confidence of our sister republics of Central and South America and to promote in every

honorable and proper way the interests which are common to the peoples of the two continents. . . .

"Coöperation is possible only when supported at every turn by the orderly processes of just government based upon law, not upon arbitrary or irregular force. We hold, as I am sure all thoughtful leaders of republican government everywhere hold, that just government rests always upon the consent of the governed and that there can be no freedom without order based upon law and upon the public conscience and approval. . . .

"We shall lend our influence of every kind to the realization of these principles in fact and practice, knowing that disorder, personal intrigue and defiance of constitutional rights weaken and discredit government and injure none so much as the people who are unfortunate enough to have their common life and their common affairs so tainted and disturbed. We can have no sympathy with those who seek to seize the power of government to advance their own personal interests or ambition. . . .

"The United States has nothing to seek in

Central and South America except the lasting interests of the peoples of the two continents, the security of governments intended for the people and for no special group or interest, and the development of personal and trade relationships between the two continents which shall redound to the profit and advantage of both, and interfere with the rights and liberties of neither. From these principles may be read so much of the future policy of this Government as it is necessary now to forecast."

The policy thus defined has been vigorously and successfully maintained with impressive results, not only as directly concerning the Mexican situation, but also as regards the relations between the United States and other American nations, and as to the present significance of the Monroe Doctrine.

At the outset President Wilson seems to have had some difficulty in impressing his policy upon agents of this country in Mexico, the opinion in diplomatic circles being so strong that the sensible thing to do was to recognize Huerta as a practical short cut out of a nasty situation. There

were resignations and protests. But steadily and patiently President Wilson reformed administrative agency so as to obtain action in sympathy with administrative purpose. His efforts to improve the situation were for some time apparently fruitless and of this he frankly informed the country in a personally delivered message to Congress on August 27, 1913. In it he described the Mexican drift toward anarchy. "War and disorder, devastation and confusion, seem to threaten to become the settled fortune of the distracted country." The good offices of this Government had been offered by the President through a personal representative sent to Mexico to give notice that the United States could not remain inactive in the presence of such conditions as were developing in Mexico, and to recommend a settlement on the basis of an immediate armistice, and an early and free election at which General Huerta would not be a candidate. These conditions were rejected by the authorities at Mexico City, because, said the President, "they did not realize the spirit of the American people in this matter, their earnest friendliness and yet

sober determination that some just solution be found for the Mexican difficulties; and they did not believe that the present Administration spoke . . . for the people of the United States. The effect of this unfortunate misunderstanding on their part is to leave them singularly isolated and without friends who can effectually aid them. So long as the misunderstanding continues we can only await the time of their awakening to a realization of the actual facts. We cannot thrust our good offices upon them. The situation must be given a little more time to work itself out in the new circumstances; and I believe that only a little while will be necessary. For the circumstances are new. The rejection of our friendship makes them new and will inevitably bring its own alterations in the whole aspect of affairs.

"Meanwhile, what is it our duty to do? Clearly, everything that we do must be rooted in patience and done with calm and disinterested deliberation. Impatience on our part would be childish, and would be fraught with every risk of wrong and folly. We can afford to exercise the self-restraint of a really great nation which realizes its own

strength and scorns to misuse it. It was our duty to offer our active assistance. It is now our duty to show what true neutrality will do to enable the people of Mexico to set their affairs in order again and wait for a further opportunity to offer our friendly counsels. The door is not closed against the resumption, either upon the initiative of Mexico or upon our own, of the effort to bring order out of the confusion by friendly coöperative action, should fortunate occasion offer."

While pursuing this policy of watchful waiting with regard to the internal affairs of Mexico the Administration was energetic in defending our own national interests. Complications ensuing from the action of Mexican authorities in taking a number of our sailors from a navy launch at Tampico led to a strong concentration of our naval forces off the east coast of Mexico and in April, 1914, Vera Cruz was occupied by American troops. At this critical juncture Argentina, Brazil, and Chile intervened with an offer of mediation which was promptly and cordially accepted by President Wilson, who said:

"This Government will be glad to take up with you for discussion in the frankest and most conciliatory spirit any proposals that may be authoritatively formulated, and will hope that they may prove feasible and prophetic of a new day of mutual coöperation and confidence in America."

The President's opponents denounced his acceptance of South American mediation as a sad blow to our prestige as a nation, but those who do not render judgment from the standpoint of immediate prejudice saw that it was a masterstroke of policy. The Springfield *Republican* declared:

"The incident is worth hundreds of tours of South American capitals by our Secretaries of State, with innumerable banquet speeches on Pan-American solidarity. It is worth dozens of Pan-American conferences. For an act like this crystallizes fine words and eloquent periods into a landmark of Pan-American diplomacy. It establishes a precedent; possibly it opens an era."

This acceptance of mediation was followed by a conference at Niagara Falls, with the A. B. C. powers, which conference, although without defi-

nite result, brought about understandings that contributed to the final result. Huerta's position became untenable and he left the country in July, 1914. His retirement temporarily left the field clear for General Carranza, but fresh revolutionary movements took place, arraying against him his former adherent General Villa. In November, 1914, our forces evacuated Vera Cruz, which passed into the control of Carranza. Since then Carranza's authority has been gradually extended throughout the country, although at this writing still disturbed by local outbreaks. It is now manifest that President Wilson handled an extremely difficult situation with signal ability. In its issue of December 21, 1915, the New York *Times,* which is certainly not biased in President Wilson's favor, said:

"The Mexican question will not be a political issue in the United States next year unless something happens to check the already rapid progress in the southern republic toward the restoration of peace and prosperity. . . .

"So far as the attacks on President Wilson's Mexican policy are relied upon by politicians

opposed to the Administration to influence political sentiment against it they will utterly fail. It is not to say that the policy has been wholly consistent and clearly thought out from the beginning to admit that it has been successful. Throughout this country there is a feeling of thankfulness that war with Mexico has been avoided and a better understanding established between the two countries. There is also a general recognition of the value of the stronger relations which have been established with the South American republics and Guatemala in the settlement of the Mexican question. It was the idea of our Latin-American associates in the plan of mediation that Carranza should be recognized, and it must now be admitted that President Wilson made no mistake in accepting the idea. The outlook in Mexico is now as bright as it possibly could be, considering the terrible disasters the country has suffered. . . ."

The Mexican question has been made unduly prominent through the political maneuvering incident to our party contests. Sustained efforts have been made to confuse and mislead public

opinion on issues that are really very simple and are covered by elementary principles of international law. President Wilson's action in warning Americans to keep out of Mexico pending the existence of civil war was furiously denounced by his opponents in Congress as a shameful surrender of American rights. As a matter of fact it was as ordinary a precaution as roping off the danger zone at a fire. England is proverbially urgent in claiming privileges of travel and intercourse for her subjects, but time and again she has warned her subjects to keep out of disturbed areas—as, for instance, in Macedonia, when that country was in a state of disorder like that in Mexico. The only place where people have a full and unqualified right to be is in their own country. They have also the right to use the high seas, the common property of nations, but in time of war that right is qualified by the right of visitation and search possessed by belligerents under international law. Travel or residence, however, in a foreign country is a privilege that is conditional and not absolute in its nature. No one claims that our Government is bound to demand

for our citizens the right to go where they please and stay where they please in Europe. If they do go they take their risks and they have no right to expect anything more from their Government than that it will insist that they shall receive legal treatment and that reparation shall be obtained in case of the violation of rights secured by treaty or acknowledged by international law. As a matter of fact many more Americans have probably gone into the European war area than have gone into Mexico since the outbreak of civil war there, and there has been no outcry in our home politics over their troubles. But whenever an outrage is perpetrated in Mexico, there is a clamor for immediate intervention. The course to be pursued in such matters is perfectly well known. The immediate responsibility for preventing crime and punishing it when committed rests upon the Government having jurisdiction, and the first step is to demand satisfaction of that Government. This course has been steadily pursued in the case of Mexico and the Carranza Government has acted with promptitude and energy in pursuing and executing bandits

implicated in the murder of American citizens. But the monstrous doctrine has been advanced in Congress that the Administration was recreant in not forthwith ordering our army into Mexico. Such things have been known to occur in the United States as the murder of aliens, but we should regard it as inconceivable truculence were it to be proposed in the parliament of the nation aggrieved not to apply to our Government for redress but to let slip the dogs of war.

It is only fair to say that usually in the Congress of the United States action is moderate notwithstanding the superficial violence of speech. Much of the talk about Mexico is like the transports of indignation that rack journalistic bosoms when an election is coming on. Violent speeches have been made against the President that did not express real feeling but were nothing more than a forensic version of the drum thumping of a political parade. But there is always the risk that in playing with fire the politicians may start a conflagration. It is generally conceded now that the war with Spain was unnecessary. She was willing to submit to the demands

of this country if allowed to do so, but a spirit was aroused that would be satisfied with nothing but war and the Administration was swept off its feet. It has required all of President Wilson's tenacity of purpose to keep our Government from being made the tool of interests having in view the exploitation of Mexico, meanwhile making precedents whose arrogance and violence would be surely turned against us some day.

There is nothing novel about President Wilson's policy on the Mexican question, except his adroit utilization of opportunities to establish more cordial relations with all the American countries. He took the first steps early in his administration and the conference with the A. B. C. powers greatly facilitated the movement. The Pan-American Scientific Congress which met in Washington, December 27, 1915, to January 8, 1916, provided an appropriate occasion for a public statement of the aims of the movement. On January 5, it was announced that a memorandum had been presented to the Latin-American diplomatic representatives, asking the different governments to subscribe to the following prin-

ciples later to be embodied in a general convention to which all are to be signatories:

"(1.) The United States and all the other nations of this hemisphere mutually agree to guarantee the territorial integrity of the countries of this hemisphere.

"(2.) All the nations agree to maintain the republican form of government.

"(3.) All bind themselves to submit to settlement by diplomacy, arbitration, or investigating commissions as provided for by the several treaties already ratified, disputes of all kinds, including boundary troubles, but not controversies affecting the independence of each.

"(4.) General agreement whereby exportation of arms to any but the legally constituted governments of this hemisphere will be prohibited, and laws of neutrality adopted which will make it impossible for filibustering expeditions to threaten or carry on revolutions in neighboring republics."

The announcement was received with sympathy and approval and the negotiations initiated by the memorandum are now going on.

CHAPTER XI

THE WAR AND ITS ISSUES

THE outbreak of the European war was a most untoward event for President Wilson. His thoughts and his plans had been concerned with the domestic problems of our politics and his Cabinet had been chosen with a view to such occupations. The country was deeply in arrears as regards measures for adjusting law and administration to existing business and social needs, and he was in the first stage of a program of reform quite enough to consume a presidential term, when the explosion took place that shook the world. Apparently nothing could have been more inopportune, but the great upheavals and displacements of history are apt to begin when least expected. In February, 1792, Pitt informed the House of Commons that "unquestionably there never was a time in the history of this country when from the situation in Europe we might more reasonably expect fifteen years of peace

than the present moment." But the next year the wars of the French Revolution began and the Premier who had taken office intent upon domestic reform had war problems to face for the rest of his life. In 1870, Premier Ollivier of France declared that "on whatever side we look there is an absence of troublesome questions; at no moment has the maintenance of the peace of Europe been better assured." Before the year was out the battle of Sedan had been fought and the French Empire had collapsed. On November 9, 1903, Premier Balfour of England declared: "I know not that any danger within the ken of human vision menaces in the smallest degree that peace which it should be our earnest endeavor to preserve." The war between Russia and Japan began in less than four months thereafter. It is well known that the present war burst upon the deliberations of a Peace Congress, scattering the delegates. If we go by the instructions of history it would seem to be impossible to foresee when Judgment Day will arrive for any nation.

Not only were the war issues thrust upon a period dedicated to domestic reform, but in addi-

tion they came down upon President Wilson in a period of family affliction. Mrs. Wilson was in the last stages of a fatal illness when, on August 4, 1914, President Wilson issued a statement proclaiming to the nations of the world the neutrality of the United States. Although conditions were such as to preclude any hope of successful mediation, yet the fact that the United States had been a signer of The Hague Convention afforded fitting grounds for effort, and on August 5 he tendered his good offices for peace to any and all of the warring nations. This document was penned by President Wilson while he was sitting at Mrs. Wilson's bedside, the day before she died. It was a message addressed to Emperor William of Germany, Emperor Franz Joseph of Austria-Hungary, Emperor Nicholas of Russia, King George of Great Britain, and President Poincaré of France, as follows:

"As official head of one of the powers signatory to The Hague Convention, I feel it to be my privilege and my duty, under Article III of that Convention, to say to you in a spirit of most earnest friendship that I should welcome an op-

portunity to act in the interest of European peace, either now or at any other time that might be thought more suitable, as an occasion to serve you and all concerned in a way that would afford me lasting cause for gratitude and happiness."

Only formal acknowledgments were received from the belligerents, but President Wilson's offer of service still stands and his attitude is one of constant readiness to act for the restoration of peace whenever an opportunity arrives. After the battle of the Marne some intimations reached him of sufficient substance to encourage another effort and the German Government was approached on the subject through Ambassador Gerard at Berlin. The Imperial Chancellor replied that as Germany's enemies had agreed to make peace only by joint action, the United States should obtain proposals of peace from the Allies, which must be such as to guarantee Germany against future attacks. It was evident that the time for mediation had not arrived and the President's efforts were not renewed so far as any direct appeal to the warring powers is concerned, but on September 8 he issued a proclama-

tion designating Sunday, October 4, as a day of prayer for peace.

Although the good offices of the President were rejected there were not wanting signs that his influence was deeply respected. On September 7, 1914, the German Emperor addressed to President Wilson a personal message in regard to the use of dum-dum bullets. A few days later President Poincaré sent a personal message on the same subject. On September 16 a commission appointed by the King of the Belgians submitted to the President a statement with regard to German acts in Belgium. To all three appeals the President returned the same reply:

"Presently, I pray God very soon, this war will be over. The day of accounting will then come, when I take it for granted the nations of Europe will assemble to determine a settlement. Where wrongs have been committed, their consequences and the relative responsibility involved will be assessed.

"The nations of the world have fortunately by agreement made a plan for such a reckoning and settlement. What such a plan cannot compass,

the opinion of mankind, the final arbiter in all such matters, will supply. It would be unwise, it would be premature, for a single government, however fortunately separated from the present struggle, it would even be inconsistent with the neutral position of any nation which, like this, has no part in the contest, to form or express a final judgment."

President Wilson had to deal with war issues not merely as they affected the peace of Europe but also, and with immensely more urgency, with the way in which they affected the peace of America, so on August 18, he issued a broad appeal to the American people, in which he said:

"The effect of the war upon the United States will depend upon what American citizens say or do. Every man who really loves America will act and speak in the true spirit of neutrality, which is the spirit of impartiality and fairness and friendliness to all concerned. The spirit of the nation in this critical matter will be determined largely by what individuals and society and those gathered in public meetings do and say, upon what newspapers and magazines contain, upon

what our ministers utter in their pulpits and men proclaim as their opinions on the streets.

"The people of the United States are drawn from many nations, and chiefly from the nations now at war. It is natural and inevitable that there should be the utmost variety of sympathy and desire among them with regard to the issues and circumstances of the conflict. Some will wish one nation, others another to succeed in the momentous struggle. It will be easy to excite passion and difficult to allay it. Those responsible for exciting it will assume a heavy responsibility; responsibility for no less a thing than that the people of the United States, whose love of their country and whose loyalty to its Government should unite them as Americans all, bound in honor and affection to think first of her and her interests, may be divided into camps of hostile opinions hot against each other, involved in the war itself in impulse and opinion, if not in action. Such divisions among us would be fatal to our peace of mind and might seriously stand in the way of proper performance of our duty as one great nation at peace, the one people holding it-

self ready to play a part of impartial mediation and speak the counsels of peace and accommodation, not as a partisan but as a friend.

"I venture, therefore, my fellow-countrymen, to speak a solemn word of warning to you against that deepest, most subtle, most essential breach of neutrality which may spring out of partisanship, out of passionately taking sides. The United States must be neutral in fact as well as in name during these days that are to try men's souls. We must be impartial in thought as well as in action, must put a curb upon our sentiments as well as upon every transaction that might be construed as a preference of one party to the struggle before another."

The evils which this address deplored were not wholly averted by it and in his treatment of the war issues President Wilson has had to move through a storm of detraction beating upon him from all sides. He has been condemned by some as being too aggressive and by some as not being aggressive enough. The New York *Times* of December 1, 1915, and many other newspapers of the same date contained a statement from Mr.

Bryan censuring the Administration for being too militaristic, and one from Mr. Roosevelt, censuring the Administration for being too pacific in its tendencies. President Wilson has been condemned on the one hand because he carried his insistence upon the rights of American citizens to a point that might drag the country into war, and on the other hand he has been condemned because he did not promptly throw the whole weight and power of the United States in opposition to the violation of neutral rights committed by the invasion of Belgium. It is much too soon to attempt to reach a decision on the merits of the case. The case itself is still incomplete. It will be time enough to sum up the qualities of President Wilson's management of our national interests, after the crisis is passed. Meanwhile all that the biographer or the historian can safely undertake is to note the actual character of the policy pursued, so as to facilitate an intelligent opinion of it.

The very fact that extremes meet in condemnation of President Wilson's policy, of itself indicates that he has kept to the middle of the road,

not leaning either to the one side or the other. When his course is compared with that taken by his predecessors in like circumstances it is found that he has pursued the same course as that taken by President Washington, and has acted on the same principles as those which were stated by Alexander Hamilton in behalf of Washington's Administration. The rising of European nations against the French republic in 1793 excited sympathy and indignation in this country comparable with that excited by the invasion of Belgium during the present war. Washington issued a proclamation of the neutrality of the United States which was bitterly censured as perfidious, cowardly, and ungrateful. In defense of Washington's policy Hamilton wrote his *Pacificus* letters published during the summer of 1793. In them he examined seriatim the objections raised, laying down general principles that are as pertinent now as they were then. He observed:

"Instances of conferring benefits from kind and benevolent dispositions or feelings towards the person benefited, without any other interest on the part of the person who renders the service,

than the pleasure of doing a good action, occur every day among individuals. But among nations they perhaps never occur. . . . Indeed, the rule of morality in this respect is not precisely the same between nations, as between individuals. The duty of making its own welfare the guide of its actions, is much stronger upon the former than upon the latter; in proportion to the greater magnitude and importance of national, compared with individual happiness, and to the greater permanency of the effects of national, than of individual conduct. Existing millions, and for the most part future generations, are concerned in the present measures of a government; while the consequences of the private action of an individual ordinarily terminate with himself, or are circumscribed within a narrow compass.

"Whence it follows that an individual may, on numerous occasions, meritoriously indulge the emotions of generosity and benevolence, not only with a view to, but even at the expense of, his own interest. But a government can rarely, if at all, be justifiable in pursuing a similar course; and, if it does so, ought to confine itself within much

stricter bounds. Good offices which are indifferent to the interest of a nation performing them, or which are compensated by the existence or expectation of some reasonable equivalent, or which produce an essential good to the nation to which they are rendered, without real detriment to the affairs of the benefactors, prescribe perhaps the limits of national generosity or benevolence."

In a footnote Hamilton added: "This conclusion derives confirmation from the reflection, that under every form of government, rulers are only trustees for the happiness and interest of their nation, and cannot, consistently with their trust, follow the suggestions of kindness or humanity towards others, to the prejudice of their constituents."

The above exhibits the principle on which Wilson acted, and to arrive at sound conclusions on any particular, it should be considered with that principle in view, namely, the principle of trusteeship. Much burning indignation has been poured upon him for his failure to go to the rescue of Belgium, just as Washington was censured for failing to go to the rescue of France. Some of

the philippics that have been uttered on this theme by eminent politicians make a fine display of their powers of forceful language, the vehemence of which is fully warranted if their point of view be accepted. If President Wilson had acted in a spirit of knight-errantry he might have avoided the reproaches now heaped upon him by those who view the case through the medium of their sympathies. What he did do was to make the welfare of his own country the guide of his actions. This plea is contemptuously rejected by his opponents, who point out with logical pertinence that our national welfare is involved by such a struggle and that the fate of Belgium today may be that of the United States tomorrow, so that prompt action in her behalf would be timely action in our own behalf. As to this it may be remarked that if remote and indirect consequences are to be taken into account there are practically no bounds to national duty, for to some extent the interests of all countries and of all peoples are interdependent. But the duties of trusteeship, whether private or public, are confined to actual and definite obligations. All

the objections raised against Wilson's course apply quite as fully to Washington's course, and the principle involved in both cases is the same—the principle of trusteeship. On this point the policy of the Wilson Administration hinges. That a larger, more generous view of duty might have been taken is a position that is logically tenable. But if the principle of trusteeship, as adopted by Washington and formulated by Hamilton, is accepted as sound, then the course pursued by Wilson must be approved, since its particulars, when examined from this point of view, show conformity to that principle. The fact may also be noted that in the light of history it has generally appeared that minding one's own business has been as sound a rule of national behavior in respect to ethical results as in respect to national interest. When the history of the present war is written, so that its events shall appear in their proper proportions, it may appear that the United States, by keeping out of the struggle, was able to render far greater service to Belgium than by rushing to her side the moment she was attacked. It may be remembered that

the good Samaritan did not gain his reputation by avenging the crime but by bringing relief to the victim.

While Wilson's policy has disappointed some who hold chivalric ideals of national behavior it has also offended others who—regarding war as always bad and peace as always good—have feared that Wilson's insistence on the rights of American citizens was being carried too far. It has been urged that due consideration of the national welfare should make individuals willing to forego for the time the exercise of the ordinary rights of travel; and, even if they were willing to take their chances, the question would remain, whether they should be able to count upon any support from the Government. It has been contended that if they chose to get into harm's way by traveling in vessels exposed to attack, they ought not to look to the Government to help them out of trouble or to secure redress should they suffer injury. It has been urged with great force that if our Government insists upon asserting the rights of American citizens, as defined by international law, it is committed to a course that

might end in war. Considerations of this general nature caused a break in the Cabinet. On June 8, 1915, Mr. Bryan resigned the office of Secretary of State, and was succeeded by Robert Lansing, formerly Counselor of the State Department. The selection was significant as indicative of the President's intention of standing firm upon the law and of claiming the full measure of American rights under international law.

This determination also was in accord with the principle of trusteeship, for although peace is generally desirable, occasions may arise when it is to the interest of the nation to wage war. This contingency was distinctly mentioned by Washington in his "Farewell Address," in which he advised that we should keep in such a position that "we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel." Wilson's course showed that the possibility of war was not going to deter him from asserting American rights in dealings with the belligerent countries. He might advise American citizens to keep out of Mexico because of the anarchy there and the lack of authority that could be held to accountability;

but there were no such complications as regards travel on the high seas. This distinction was thus noted by Secretary Lansing in a statement issued on January 12, 1916:

"The high seas are common territory to every nation. Territory is always under the sovereignty of a nation, and the authorities of a nation can do what they please in that sovereignty. On the high seas a noncombatant, whether neutral or belligerent, has a right to pass to and fro without having his life endangered, unless he is on a public ship. In a territory he only has the right to pass to and fro with the consent of the authorities. If it is uncertain who the authorities are in that territory, he runs at once the danger of loss of liberty and life."

President Wilson did not flinch from asserting neutral rights, for fear of possible consequences, and while this course has involved this country in serious controversies with belligerents on both sides of the struggle, it has manifestly secured more respect for neutral rights than was ever before evinced by great powers fighting desperately for their national existence. At this writing

the war is still going on; the time is unhappily still distant when a complete survey of its diplomatic incidents may be taken, but there is already a striking record of achievement. Examination of the details impresses one with the multifarious nature of the tasks performed. Our diplomatic correspondence with belligerent governments in respect to neutral rights and commerce was enough to fill two large printed volumes, up to October 15, 1915, and the mass has much increased since then and is still increasing. This is due wholly to the number and variety of the topics to be considered, as in style our notes have been remarkably direct and concise, meeting every issue squarely. A good illustration is the correspondence on the case of the *William P. Frye,* an American ship that was sunk by a German cruiser. While reserving the point of whether or not the German commander acted legally, the German Government agreed to pay actual damages. To this the reply was made:

"A payment made on this understanding would be entirely acceptable to the Government of the

United States, provided that the acceptance of such payment should likewise be understood to be without prejudice to the contention of the Government of the United States that the sinking of the *Frye* was without legal justification, and provided also that an arrangement can be agreed upon for the immediate submission to arbitration of the question of legal justification, in so far as it involves the interpretation of existing treaty stipulations."

Public attention has been directed chiefly to cases in which passenger vessels were sunk with loss of life through German submarine warfare, and this has given the impression that our contention has been chiefly with Germany. That impression is correct as regards the importance of the issues involved, but meanwhile the greatest number of actual cases involving neutral rights have been such as to produce contention with England. Questions of contraband and of trade with neutrals, detention of American ships, and interference with American consignments have furnished matter for much diplomatic correspondence. The following dispatch of July 14,

1915, to Ambassador Page, states the position which our Government has maintained:

"In view of differences which are understood to exist between the two Governments as to the principles of law applicable in prize court proceedings in cases involving American interests, and in order to avoid any misunderstanding as to the attitude of the United States in regard to such proceedings, you are instructed to inform the British Government that in so far as the interests of American citizens are concerned the Government of the United States will insist upon their rights under the principles and rules of international law as hitherto established, governing neutral trade in time of war, without limitation or impairment by Orders in Council or other municipal legislation by the British Government, and will not recognize the validity of prize court proceedings taken under restraints imposed by British municipal law in derogation of the rights of American citizens under international law."

Since the United States has in the past exercised the right of embargo upon exports of any commodity which might aid the enemy's cause, it

cannot now deny that right to other nations and must be willing to submit to such restraints upon trade as are involved by a reasonable exercise of belligerent rights. What is reasonable in particular cases is a question of judgment upon which the United States has contended for liberality, and the British Government has steadily manifested a conciliatory disposition. On some points prompt compliance was made with the demands of our Government. When the British Government was notified that the presence of war vessels in the vicinity of American ports was offensive to our Government they were promptly withdrawn and our Government was notified that orders had been issued "impressing on His Majesty's officers the duty of strictly observing the terms of the United States neutrality regulations."

Grave differences with the German Government arose over its proclamation on February 4, 1915, of a war zone about Great Britain, entrance into which would make any vessel liable to destruction. The proclamation notified all neutral powers "that it is of urgency to recommend

to their own vessels to steer clear of these waters." The reply of our Government, issued on February 10, was a vigorous protest against such disregard of international law, concluding with notice to Germany that it would be held to strict accountability:

"If the commanders of German vessels of war should act upon the presumption that the flag of the United States was not being used in good faith and should destroy on the high seas an American vessel or the lives of American citizens, it would be difficult for the Government of the United States to view the act in any other light than as an indefensible violation of neutral rights, which it would be very hard indeed to reconcile with the friendly relations now so happily subsisting between the two Governments.

"If such a deplorable situation should arise, the Imperial German Government can readily appreciate that the Government of the United States would be constrained to hold the Imperial German Government to a strict accountability for such acts of their naval authorities and to take any steps it might be necessary to take to

safeguard American lives and property and to secure to American citizens the full enjoyment of their acknowledged rights on the high seas."

Correspondence ensued, in the course of which Germany did not contend that the policy she had announced was in accord with existing provisions of international law, but that those provisions had been already modified by Great Britain to her advantage and to the detriment of Germany, and that the war zone policy was a retaliatory measure dictated by the paramount law of self-preservation. Germany was willing to modify her policy if the United States could induce Great Britain to modify her policy. In compliance with Germany's request representations were made to Great Britain on the subject, without practical result, and some suggestions offered by our Government as to the scope of an agreement were also ineffectual. Underlying the discussion and shaping its results were the inflexible determination of the British Government to cut off Germany from all commerce by sea and the resolution of the German Government to go to any lengths to shatter British naval supremacy. The

United States was at issue with both parties on the question of neutral rights, and on March 30, 1915, sent a long note to the British Government, protesting against the Order in Council of March 15, which was declared to be "a practical assertion of unlimited belligerent rights over neutral commerce within the whole European area, and an almost unqualified denial of the sovereign rights of the nations now at peace."

Our controversies over war issues were more acute with Great Britain than with Germany when a tremendous shift of interest and feeling was brought about by the sinking of the *Lusitania,* drowning 1,260 persons, among them 107 American citizens, followed by events of similar character. In dealing with them our Government has consistently maintained that Germany's war zone proclamation and her warnings as to the risk of travel therein do not in the least abate her responsibility for "unlawful and inhumane" acts committed by her officers; that reparation shall be made so far as reparation is possible; and that steps shall be taken to prevent the recurrence of such events. In the correspondence that en-

sued relations between the two countries were strained almost to the breaking point, but finally Germany acquiesced in the position taken by our Government. Under the date of September 1, 1915, Germany gave notice: "Liners will not be sunk by our submarines without warning and without safety of the lives of noncombatants, provided the liners do not try to escape or offer resistance." On October 5, Germany expressed regret for the sinking of the *Arabic,* expressed willingness to pay an indemnity, and declared that instructions "have been made so stringent that the recurrence of incidents similar to the *Arabic* case is considered out of the question."

As a matter of fact similar incidents have since then occurred in the Mediterranean, with Austria-Hungary as the offender. The sinking of the *Ancona* with great loss of life was an event which called forth a note of which the following is the concluding portion:

"As the good relations of the two countries must rest upon a common regard for law and humanity, the Government of the United States cannot be expected to do otherwise than to de-

mand that the Imperial and Royal Government denounce the sinking of the *Ancona* as an illegal and indefensible act; that the officer who perpetrated the deed be punished, and that reparation by the payment of an indemnity be made for the citizens of the United States who were killed or injured by the attack on the vessel.

"The Government of the United States expects that the Austro-Hungarian Government, appreciating the gravity of the case, will accede to its demand promptly, and it rests this expectation on the belief that the Austro-Hungarian Government will not sanction or defend an act which is condemned by the world as inhumane and barbarous, which is abhorrent to all civilized nations, and which has caused the death of innocent American citizens."

In reply the Austro-Hungarian Government unreservedly concurred in "the principle that enemy private vessels, so far as they do not flee or offer resistance, shall not be destroyed before the persons aboard are secured."

The present indications are that in these negotiations President Wilson has obtained a signal

diplomatic triumph. The German Government has been convinced that her position was untenable and her acquiescence in the demands of the United States was explicitly made known in the following communication received on January 7, 1916:

"(1) German submarines in the Mediterranean had, from the beginning, orders to conduct cruiser warfare against enemy merchant vessels only in accordance with general principles of international law, and in particular measures of reprisal, as applied in the war zone around the British Isles, were to be excluded.

"(2) German submarines are therefore permitted to destroy enemy merchant vessels in the Mediterranean—i. e., passenger as well as freight ships as far as they do not try to escape or offer resistance—only after passengers and crews have been accorded safety.

"(3) All cases of destruction of enemy merchant ships in the Mediterranean in which German submarines are concerned are made the subject of official investigation and, besides, subject to regular prize court proceedings. In so far as

American interests are concerned, the German Government will communicate the result to the American Government. Thus, also, in the *Persia* case, if the circumstances should call for it.

"(4) If commanders of German submarines should not have obeyed the orders given to them they will be punished; furthermore, the German Government will make reparation for damage caused by death of or injuries to American citizens."

With the war still going on it would be rash to make any prediction as to the permanence of any arrangement, but the indications are that President Wilson has successfully vindicated neutral rights in the midst of the greatest war the world has ever known.

While President Wilson was struggling to defend neutral rights and to defend the national honor, he was exposed to a bitter warfare in his own country. Organized and systematic attempts were made to violate American neutrality and to levy war in the United States by secret agency. Bombs were planted in the cargoes of vessels, numerous incendiary fires took place in

arms and powder factories, and strikes and labor troubles were fomented. On September 8, 1915, the recall of Mr. Dumba, the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador at Washington, was demanded because of his complicity in plans to instigate strikes in American manufacturing plants. On December 3, the immediate recall of the German attachés, Captains Boy-Ed and von Papen, was demanded. The injuries to which the United States had been subjected by intestine foes were characterized by President Wilson in his message to Congress, delivered on December 7, 1915, in a way that elicited sympathetic response in every part of the country. He said:

"I am sorry to say that the gravest threats against our national peace and safety have been uttered within our own borders. There are citizens of the United States, I blush to admit, born under other flags, but welcomed under our generous naturalization laws to the full freedom and opportunity of America, who have poured the poison of disloyalty into the very arteries of our national life; who have sought to bring the authority and good name of our Government into

contempt, to destroy our industries wherever they thought it effective for their vindictive purposes to strike at them, and to debase our politics to the uses of foreign intrigue. Their number is not great as compared with the whole number of those sturdy hosts by which our nation has been enriched in recent generations out of virile foreign stocks; but it is great enough to have brought deep disgrace upon us and to have made it necessary that we should promptly make use of processes of law by which we may be purged of their corrupt distempers.

"America never witnessed anything like this before. It never dreamed it possible that men sworn into its own citizenship, men drawn out of great free stocks such as supplied some of the best and strongest elements of that little, but now heroic, nation that in a high day of old staked its very life to free itself from every entanglement that had darkened the fortunes of the older nations and set up a new standard here—that men of such origins and such free choices of allegiance would ever turn in malign reaction against the Government and people who had welcomed and

nurtured them and seek to make this proud country once more a hotbed of European passion. A little while ago such a thing would have seemed incredible. Because it was incredible we made no preparation for it. We would have been almost ashamed to prepare for it, as if we were suspicious of ourselves, our own comrades and neighbors! But the ugly and incredible thing has actually come about and we are without adequate Federal laws to deal with it.

"I urge you to enact such laws at the earliest possible moment and feel that in doing so I am urging you to do nothing less than save the honor and self-respect of the nation. Such creatures of passion, disloyalty, and anarchy must be crushed out. They are not many, but they are infinitely malignant, and the hand of our power should close over them at once. They have formed plots to destroy property, they have entered into conspiracies against the neutrality of the Government, they have sought to pry into every confidential transaction of the Government in order to serve interests alien to our own. It is possible to deal with these things very effectually. I need

not suggest the terms in which they may be dealt with.

"I wish that it could be said that only a few men, misled by mistaken sentiments of allegiance to the Governments under which they were born, had been guilty of disturbing the self-possession and misrepresenting the temper and principles of the country during these days of terrible war, when it would seem that every man who was truly an American would instinctively make it his duty and his pride to keep the scales of judgment even and prove himself a partisan of no nation but his own. But it cannot. There are some men among us, and many resident abroad who, though born and bred in the United States and calling themselves Americans, have so forgotten themselves and their honor as citizens as to put their passionate sympathy with one or the other side in the great European conflict above their regard for the peace and dignity of the United States. They also preach and practice disloyalty. No laws, I suppose, can reach corruptions of the mind and heart; but I should not speak of others without also speaking of these and expressing

the even deeper humiliation and scorn which every self-possessed and thoughtfully patriotic American must feel when he thinks of them and of the discredit they are daily bringing upon us."

The leading topic of this message was preparedness. President Wilson's policy in this respect was thus stated:

"We regard war merely as asserting the rights of a people against aggression. And we are as fiercely jealous of coercive or dictatorial power within our own nation as of aggression from without. We will not maintain a standing army except for uses which are as necessary in times of peace as in times of war; and we shall always see to it that our military peace establishment is no larger than is actually and continuously needed for the uses of days in which no enemies move against us. But we do believe in a body of free citizens ready and sufficient to take care of themselves and of the Governments which they have set up to serve them. In our Constitutions themselves we have commanded that "the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed," and our confidence has been that our

safety in times of danger would lie in the rising of the nation to take care of itself, as the farmers rose at Lexington.

"But war has never been a mere matter of men and guns. It is a thing of disciplined might. If our citizens are ever to fight effectively upon a sudden summons, they must know how modern fighting is done, and what to do when the summons comes to render themselves immediately available and immediately effective. And the Government must be their servant in this matter, must supply them with the training they need to take care of themselves and of it. The military arm of their Government, which they will not allow to direct them, they may properly use to serve them and make their independence secure—and not their own independence merely, but the rights also of those with whom they have made common cause, should they also be put in jeopardy. They must be fitted to play the great rôle in the world, and particularly in this hemisphere, for which they are qualified by principle and by chastened ambition to play.

"It is with these ideals in mind that the plans

of the Department of War for more adequate national defense were conceived which will be laid before you, and which I urge you to sanction and put into effect as soon as they can be properly scrutinized and discussed."

These plans involved important changes in our national methods and a discussion was initiated that has generated new issues not yet fully developed at this writing. In accordance with his habit of appeal to the court of public opinion, President Wilson accepted invitations to address public meetings at which his position was frankly stated and the reasons for his course were made known.

CHAPTER XII

PERSONAL TRAITS

ONE cannot really note personal traits without a personal point of view, so in this chapter the author will speak in his own person, of his own impressions. Through the courtesy of Mr. Albert Shaw, editor of the *Review of Reviews,* I am permitted to use a character sketch prepared for that magazine in 1912, at the time Woodrow Wilson became the Democratic party's nominee for president. It pictures the man as I saw him, at the time he stepped on the stage of national affairs. It is as follows:

"The most salient characteristic of Woodrow Wilson is a love of fun. This is what most impressed me when I first got to know him over a dozen years ago, and that early impression has been often renewed since. When our acquaintance began I was an editor and I had a notion that college dons were persons of starched be-

havior, so I was surprised, although pleased, by the eagerness with which he seized upon the humorous aspect of any situation. It was at the meeting of a learned society that brought together a number of university men, and I had prepared myself for something of a didactic ordeal. But as soon as the regular exercises were over, Wilson began to tell stories, relate anecdotes, and carry on a discursive conversation that for candor, logic and incisiveness made me think of Johnson's table talk, when the great Cham was in a genial mood and talked English instead of Latin. I noticed that while his talk was manifestly an improvisation, his thoughts came with their clothes on. There was a balance to his periods revealing an instinctive sense of form, and his diction was terse and idiomatic. This spontaneity of utterance is habitual. His dignity is allowed to take care of itself, which it is abundantly able to do, as it is always present, although he does not seem to be aware of it.

"This love of fun crops out on every occasion. When he was nominated for governor of New Jersey the family experienced a shock from the

downpour of publicity upon their home. The ladies winced under it before they learned that it is one of the things that goes in the day's work for the family of a man who is nominated to high office. But until they were hardened to it it was not always quite pleasant to read in the papers remarks upon the way in which Mr. Wilson's nose fits his face and his ears are adjusted to his head. But he himself got hold of a limerick that seemed to him to state his position exactly, and he recited it with glee:

> As a beauty I am not a star;
> There are others more handsome by far.
> But my face—I don't mind it
> For I am behind it;
> The people in front get the jar.

"Whatever his experience may be, he instinctively sees the funny side of things, and he returns from every excursion with a fund of amusement for the home circle as a bee brings honey to the hive. It is a merry home circle. There seem to be no secrets there. The Governor speaks frankly and unreservedly upon any matter that may come up. His table talk takes a wide range.

He is omnivorous in his reading and expansive in his mental curiosity. Intellectual narrowness is his great aversion. I have heard him describe the class of scholars who dwarf themselves by confinement to one subject as 'ignorant specialists.' Of Governor Wilson it may be said that whatever concerns humanity interests him, so that at one sitting at his table one may hear talk of Kipling's latest poem, of Chesterton's most recent paradox, of football prospects, events in the religious world, the latest limerick, the political myths by which people are imposed upon as regards the nature of our Constitution, the trend of contemporaneous philosophy, personal anecdotes, and interspersed throughout a lot of apposite stories.

"Woodrow Wilson is not a story-teller in the usual sense of the term. He does not save up and give out funny stories just because they are funny, but his stories come up in his talk by way of illustration and they possess logical pertinence. He has a gift for dramatic narrative and can describe a scene in a way that brings it vividly before one. His propensity for humorous ob-

servation preserves him from tedium in the many formal proceedings in which he is called to take part because of his official position. They could not be so dull or so slow but that he could find something interesting or suggestive. He seems to be little or not at all exposed to boredom, and arrives fresh and buoyant at the end of what to most people would be a wearying experience. So far from being tired of it all, he may rehearse its humorous phases with dramatic gusto when he gets back to the hearthstone. I happened to be present when he gave an account of some public exercises in which he had taken part not long before. A presentation was to be made to some notable who was so crowded by the committee on the stage that he sat with his feet drawn tight to his chair and with his high hat pressed close to his stomach under his clasped hands. The orator making the presentation speech was right in front, almost in physical contact, but as he pitched his voice so as to reach the audience the opening words, 'Honored Sir!' came in a loud shout. The recipient of the attention was so startled that he made a jump that crushed in his hat like a con-

certina. The shout that Wilson himself gave in imitation of the strenuous orator rang through the house in a way that brought down some of the family to see what was the matter and to join in the fun.

"This openness of conduct belongs to Woodrow Wilson by inheritance. Older members of the Princeton faculty who knew his father say that he had the same freedom of spirit. A profound theologian, he was fond of jest and anecdote, was expansive in his sympathies and varied in his interests. In temperament Woodrow Wilson is said to resemble his father closely. It is probably owing to this phase of his character that it does not seem to his friends that he takes a good picture. They are accustomed to seeing him with a twinkle in his eye, and with lines of good humor curving about his mouth and radiating from the corners of his eyes. But it takes contact with people to produce these manifestations. The face that the camera gets is that which has been modeled by Scotch-Irish ancestry and theological lineage, expressing gravity, seriousness and determination. In the ordinary bearing of

the man these qualities are latent but are not conspicuous, as they are in his picture.

"His humor is not broad but is dry and clean. His mind is not squeamish but it is pure. His conversation is remarkable for intellectual copiousness. His mind is rich in ideas and he spends them freely in his talk. He says what he thinks without fear of consequences. These traits may not be such as are now ordinarily associated with political eminence, but that is because American political conditions are now peculiar. The men who made the Constitution and set up the Government used to talk copiously and write voluminously. The notion that a statesman should be as silently wise as an owl and as gravely meditative as a cow has come in only since government by private arrangement has been substituted for government by public discussion.

"He has extraordinary capacity for getting through work without strain or fret. This competency, while founded upon natural ability, is largely the product of intellectual discipline. He has brought his faculties under such control that they are always at his command, ready for obe-

dient service at any time in any place. His ability as a public speaker, now so marked, has been greatly developed since the beginning of his career. He had some natural diffidence to overcome, and, curiously enough, notwithstanding the extraordinary facility he now possesses, a trace of it still remains. By practice his faculty has been so improved that it now transcends that of the ordinary speaker, as much as the agility of an athlete exceeds that of an ordinary man. But to this day he still feels a nervous tension at the start that produces a feeling of "goneness" in the pit of the stomach. It disappears the moment he hears the sound of his voice. Then he loses all sense of personal consciousness in the exercise of his powers so that the address goes on almost as in a state of automatism.

"His voice has a vibrant quality that carries its tones without strain or effort. He speaks very distinctly, and although his voice does not seem to be raised above a conversational pitch, it is heard without difficulty, whether in a great auditorium or in the open air. When he has to make an important speech, he prepares himself

carefully as to matter, but he can safely trust himself to the occasion for his diction, which is unfailing in literary distinction. He has read so extensively and thought so deeply that he always has something to say and he never has to fall back upon commonplaces. No man ever possessed in a more eminent degree the faculty of thinking on his feet.

"He is fond of out-of-door exercise of any kind, finding in that a healthful change from the occupations of his study. Some years ago he was very fond of bicycling, but of late years golf is his favorite game. In his personal habits he is abstemious. He neither smokes nor drinks. Although inclined to be spare in figure he has a wiry strength, conserved by his life-long habit of temperance in all things and replenished by a fine faculty for taking his rest. He is a good sleeper, and nothing that can happen seems able to agitate his mind or cause insomnia. This makes him a good traveler. He can turn in and get his night's rest as usual, as he flies across the country in a sleeping car.

"From the freedom and variety of his conversa-

tion one would get the idea that his mind is very open to new impressions. This is the case, and yet at the same time his plans in all matters of importance are the outcome of a process of incubation. He is open to advice and likes to talk things over, but his conclusions are his own, and once formed they are firmly held. It is useless to approach him with any argument based upon his personal advantage or convenience. It must go to the merits of the case to receive his consideration. Tenacity of purpose is a very strong trait of his character. When he has determined upon any policy, he adheres to it with constancy and perseverance, no matter what obstacles may be encountered. His spirits are remarkably equable, neither elated by success nor discouraged by failure. He is easy and democratic in his manners, meeting all sorts and conditions of men without reserve or precaution. His fellow townsmen instinctively regard him as a member of the community, approachable in any interest of the community by any member thereof. There are, however, two kinds of people with whom he seems to enter into mental communion most readily.

One kind includes just plain, common people, making no pretensions to learning, but solid and honest in their intuitions and prejudices; from them he draws inspiration. The other kind includes people of ripe culture and wide information; from them he gets mental exercise through bouts of intellectual discussion.

"Whatever he does, whether it be work or play or conversation, he does it with a whole heart. He never dawdles. He is always eager, alert, animated, whether writing, lecturing, speaking, chatting or playing. Milton's famous passage about those who "scorn delights and live laborious days" is not applicable to him. He gets through a great amount of work, but his thinking machine is so well adjusted and runs so smoothly that its operation seems a functional satisfaction rather than labor. The quatrain that Robert Louis Stevenson put up in his study would be quite in place in Woodrow Wilson's study too:

> This is the study where a smiling God
> Sees day by day the path of duty trod.
> My work He praises and He seems to say
> The day is brief; be diligent in play.

"During his campaign for governor it suited his political opponents to describe him as a man who had led a cloistered life so that he was unfamiliar with affairs and was wanting in administrative capacity. Such a notion seemed very grotesque to those who knew Woodrow Wilson. It altogether misconceived the nature of a university president's work. The post calls for administrative ability of a very high order, and incidentally brings about contacts and acquaintanceships that put one in personal touch with all great national interests, whether business or political. The administrative problems that engage a university president's attention involve men of exceptional ability and force, so that controversies, if they arise, are more than usually formidable.

"Woodrow Wilson possesses in a singularly high degree the great administrative faculty of prompt apprehension of the true nature of a case, so as to disengage it from the irrelevant and adventitious and to guide discussion to sound conclusions. Whatever might be the matter coming up at faculty meetings, whether through a committee report or a casual motion, his mind

seized it at once, stating the case clearly and bringing out all its elements for consideration. At times he took an active part in debate. The speech he made in introducing the preceptorial system has become a faculty tradition as a model of perspicacity and force. His quickness of apprehension was also marked whenever he took part in a conference or was present at a committee meeting. No matter how complicated the subject, his mind seemed to bear effectively upon it at once, cutting into it like a circular saw into a knotty log. His apprehension extends to the viewpoints of all concerned, and he is particularly happy in removing differences by promoting better understanding.

"This quickness of grasp and readiness of comprehension have been strikingly displayed during his administration as governor. During the legislative session, if he could get into conference with the parties to a controversy, it was remarkable how rapidly he could analyze the situation, exhibit its elements, and suggest the solution. His dispatch of business is such that business never drives him. He seems always to

have time to talk and to act with deliberation, whatever be the exigency, and when he is through he is through. The art of living on twenty-four hours a day was learned by him many years ago, and it stands him in good stead now. No man in public life keeps a cleaner desk or has clearer spaces of time for study and recreation in the intervals of official duty.

"The habitual cheerfulness and equanimity of his mind and his love of innocent fun are traits so persistent as to imply permanent moral foundations. It does not require much intimacy to discover what these consist of—namely, a deep religious faith, penetrating the whole nature of the man and informing all his acts. This is the source of that peace of mind which seems to make him immune to worry or trouble. He takes things as they come, makes the best of them, and abides the event with simple and complete resignation to the will of God.

"The idealism that has now entered into philosophy from fuller knowledge of the implications of the doctrine of evolution was long ago perceived and appropriated by Woodrow Wil-

son. I remember once being with him at a gathering in one of the students' clubs at Princeton when the conversation drifted around to religion. We were grouped about a big fireplace and the talk had been of a desultory character, with a jocose element predominating, when some mention was made of Herbert Spencer. Wilson caught the theme on the bound and before he was through with it he had turned Spencer's philosophic system inside out, exposing the inadequacy of materialism and vindicating the Christian creeds as being as valid symbols as any known to science. Although a member of the Presbyterian church by birthright and regular in his attendance, he does not talk on such subjects along denominational lines; but he is quick to assert his Christianity and to claim for its dogmas a perfectly secure basis in logic and philosophy."

The household described in the foregoing was in great measure dissolved after Woodrow Wilson's translation to the White House. On June 24, 1885, just about the time he began his career as an educator, he married Miss Helen Louise

Axson of Savannah, Georgia, with whom he had become acquainted during his career as a young lawyer in Atlanta. They had three daughters who were arriving at the age when they might enter upon individual careers just as their father became a figure in national politics. The eldest daughter, who, in addition to being a vocalist whose natural gifts have been trained by study in New York, is also deeply interested in movements for social betterment, had indeed adopted her career when her father was elected President. The other daughters have been married since the family settled in Washington. Then came the death of Mrs. Wilson, which took place on August 6, 1914. Thus through death and by the natural changes wrought by time, Woodrow Wilson, whose nature needs and craves domesticity, was left with a lonely hearth. His personal friends therefore heard with gratification of his intention to marry again. On December 18, 1915, he was married to Mrs. Edith Galt, formerly Miss Bolling of Wytheville, Virginia. The ceremony took place at the bride's home in Washington in the presence of a small company

which included only immediate relatives and a few personal attendants of the bridal couple. The announcements sent out omitted all reference to the official position of the groom and in all the arrangements the wedding was treated as simply the private and personal affair which it was.

CHAPTER XIII

A MID-CAREER APPRECIATION

NOTHING more than a provisional estimate of Woodrow Wilson's career can be attempted now. The record is far from complete. He is not yet sixty years of age and he is in the fullness of his mental powers and his working capacity. Although his term as President presents a record of memorable achievement, it has been too short to complete much important work requiring attention. Indeed, not even a beginning has been made on one matter of inestimable importance in which he has long taken the greatest interest. One of the first expressions of his views made after his election to the presidency manifested his desire to act in the case and still he has not yet been able to get around to it. Under date of January 21, 1913, Senator Tillman wrote to him in regard to the wasteful and extravagant methods pursued in the enactment

of appropriation bills. In his reply Mr. Wilson wrote:

"Ever since I was a youngster I have been deeply interested in our methods of financial legislation. Ever since then I have insisted upon the absolute necessity of a carefully considered and wisely planned budget, and one of the objects I shall have most in mind when I get to Washington will be conferences with my legislative colleagues there with a view of bringing some budget system into existence. . . ."

Conferences on the subject took place during the past year at the instance of Congressional leaders, seeking a practical solution of a difficult problem but without any definite result so far. It cannot be doubted, however, that President Wilson will address himself to that subject as soon as an opportunity can be procured. Meanwhile the case affords a signal instance of the spirit of trusteeship in which he applies himself to his tasks. This particular matter has dominated his thoughts and studies throughout his entire career as a publicist, from the time he published his undergraduate essay on cabinet

government. If he approached his duties in a doctrinaire spirit or took merely a pontifical view of his functions, it is quite certain, from his deep interest in the subject, that he would have given it the leading place in his communications to Congress. If this matter could be settled by sermonizing, that would have been done long ago. It is generally admitted that the existing system —or rather lack of system and sheer chaos—is vicious and that it requires radical treatment, but budget reform deeply involves the relations between the President and Congress, and, indeed, the whole character of the constitutional system. To attack such a problem upon no better basis than individual opinion and desire would be not merely futile but most probably mischievous.

Woodrow Wilson regards his office as one of such power and responsibility that inaction on public issues would be culpable, but he shows himself to be constantly mindful of the fact that the power is not an individual prerorgative but is derived from the representative value of the office. Although initiative is a Presidential duty, legislation is the special province of Congress

and it is noticeable that while President Wilson makes an energetic use of the influence of his office to promote enactment, it is always in the exercise of his recognized function as the party leader. Acting in this capacity he can freely advise and deliberate with his party adherents in Congress. If distraction of sentiment or vacillation of purpose enfeebles party policy in Congress he has an effective resource in that he is quite willing and able to appeal to public opinion so as to bring its instructions to bear upon the situation. Thus while he moves forcefully he moves cautiously, testing the ground for each step he takes, like an elephant crossing a bridge.

In this particular case the pressure of events is making for radical reform. Lack of budget system is simply one phase of the irresponsible government whose continuance was possible only during the period of our national isolation. A little over twenty years ago when James Bryce published his now classic treatise on "The American Commonwealth," he observed that every European Power "must maintain her system of government in full efficiency for war as well as

for peace, and cannot afford to let her armaments decline, her finances become disordered, the vigor of her executive's authority be impaired, sources of internal discord continue to prey upon her vitals. But America lives in a world of her own. Safe from attack, safe even from menace, she hears from afar the warring cries of European races and faiths, as the gods of Epicurus listened to the murmurs of the unhappy earth spread out beneath their golden dwelling."

That period of immunity is at end. Since Bryce drew that idyllic picture the war with Spain was fought and now the United States has distant dependencies and possessions to manage and defend. She has become a world power in the scope of her interests and responsibilities. She is beginning to experience the pressure of the needs of subsistence and defense which have everywhere at some time presented to forms of government the alternative of developing efficiency or sinking into decay.

President Wilson's address to Congress at the opening of the present session submitted a program of action whose legislative requirements

with their incidental measures furnish matter enough for a presidential term. The subject of national defense was foremost, but in immediate and strictly logical connection came the subject of national subsistence. The President said:

"If other nations go to war or seek to hamper each other's commerce, our merchants, it seems, are at their mercy, to do with as they please. We must use their ships, and use them as they determine. We have not ships enough of our own. We cannot handle our own commerce on the seas. Our independence is provincial, and is only on land and within our own borders. We are not likely to be permitted to use even the ships of other nations in rivalry of their own trade, and are without means to extend our commerce even where the doors are wide open and our goods desired. Such a situation is not to be endured. It is of capital importance not only that the United States should be its own carrier on the seas and enjoy the economic independence which only an adequate merchant marine would give it, but also that the American hemisphere as a whole should enjoy a like independence and self-

sufficiency, if it is not to be drawn into the tangle of European affairs. Without such independence the whole question of our political unity and self-determination is very seriously clouded and complicated indeed.

"The task of building up an adequate merchant marine for America private capital must ultimately undertake and achieve, as it has undertaken and achieved every other like task among us in the past, with admirable enterprise, intelligence, and vigor; and it seems to me a manifest dictate of wisdom that we should promptly remove every legal obstacle that may stand in the way of this much to be desired revival of our old independence and should facilitate in every possible way the building, purchase, and American registration of ships. But capital cannot accomplish this great task of a sudden. It must embark upon it by degrees, as the opportunities of trade develop.

"Something must be done at once; done to open routes and develop opportunities where they are as yet undeveloped; done to open the arteries of trade where the currents have not yet learned to

run—especially between the two American continents, where they are, singularly enough, yet to be created and quickened; and it is evident that only the Government can undertake such beginnings and assume the initial financial risks. When the risk has passed and private capital begins to find its way in sufficient abundance into these new channels, the Government may withdraw. But it cannot omit to begin. It should take the first steps, and should take them at once. Our goods must not lie piled up at our ports and stored upon side tracks in freight cars which are daily needed on the roads; must not be left without means of transport to any foreign quarter. We must not await the permission of foreign shipowners and foreign Governments to send them where we will."

At the previous session of Congress, President Wilson recommended action on this matter and the House responded by passing a bill to enable the Government to get and use vessels in aid of trade. The bill was not passed by the Senate; neither was it rejected; but it was defeated by sheer obstruction, its opponents availing them-

selves of the privilege of unlimited debate to prevent it from coming to vote. This feature of our constitutional system is a strange anomaly—the power of a minority to govern the country. It has since become known that arrangements had been made by which the Government could have obtained a fleet of vessels on favorable terms. That opportunity has since, of course, passed by. The event has, however, sharpened the issue between public control of our national policy and private manipulation of it through the exercise of senatorial prerogative, which must be settled before the democratic character of our Government is definitely established.

An important feature of President Wilson's address was that in which he urged the necessity of mobilizing the industrial resources of the country. He remarked:

"While we speak of the preparation of the nation to make sure of her security and her effective power, we must not fall into the patent error of supposing that her real strength comes from armaments and mere safeguards of written law. It comes, of course, from her people, their energy,

their success in their undertakings, their free opportunity to use the natural resources of our great home land and of the lands outside our continental borders which look to us for protection, for encouragement, and for assistance in their development; from the organization and freedom and vitality of our economic life. . . .

"It is the more imperatively necessary, therefore, that we should promptly devise means for doing what we have not yet done: that we should give intelligent federal aid and stimulation to industrial and vocational education, as we have long done in the large field of our agricultural industry, that at the same time that we safeguard and conserve the natural resources of the country, we should put them at the disposal of those who will use them promptly and intelligently, as was sought to be done in the admirable bills submitted to the last Congress from its committees on the public lands, bills which I earnestly recommend in principle to your consideration; that we should put into early operation some provision for rural credits which will add to the extensive borrowing facilities, already afforded the farmer by the Re-

serve Bank Act, adequate instrumentalities by which long credits may be obtained on land mortgages; and that we should study more carefully than they have hitherto been studied the right adaptation of our economic arrangements to changing conditions."

The concluding portion of this pregnant address brought up a most copious topic, the transportation problem. He suggested the desirability of an inquiry into its factors, carried on with as great thoroughness as the inquiry into financial conditions that paved the way for currency reform. President Wilson made it plain that there was to be no backward step.

"The question is not what should we undo. It is, whether there is anything else we can do that would supply us with effective means, in the very process of regulation, for bettering the conditions under which the railroads are operated and for making them more useful servants of the country as a whole. It seems to me that it might be the part of wisdom, therefore, before further legislation in this field is attempted, to look at the whole problem of coördination and efficiency

in the full light of a fresh assessment of circumstance and opinion, as a guide to dealing with the several parts of it.

"For what we are seeking now, what in my mind is the single thought of this message, is national efficiency and security. . . ."

It will help to understand this movement if it is observed that a decided change of attitude toward public control has taken place among railroad managers. The elements of the problem will be better appreciated if the situation in this country is compared with that in other countries. The stringency of control that exists in Europe has been criticized as unsuitable to the United States because of its vast area, comparatively sparse population, and undeveloped resources, but all these conditions apply even more heavily in the case of our next door neighbor, Canada. And yet a system of complete and undisputed control may be found there. A Canadian common carrier has no power of its own motion either to make or alter a rate, but must first apply to public authority for the privilege. Power to condemn property is limited to a narrow right-of-

way strip and when private property is sought for terminal facilities or station buildings, expropriation proceedings must be instituted before public authority. The proportion of capitalization and debentures to length of line and extent of equipment is also regulated by public authority. In the United States the practice has been to turn over to the railway corporations the state's power of eminent domain, by general grants for use in their own discretion. Issues of stocks and bonds have been determined by railway managers according to their own notions of duty and convenience, with the result that the field of railway management has been invaded by practices which are not morally distinguishable from ordinary swindling. The abuses that have appeared prompted long ago a demand for legal remedy, but instead of instituting control all that was done was to create a commission with powers of interference. It is now recognized that railroad managers made a capital blunder in opposing public regulation and in exerting their influence to minimize its power and extent. It is obvious that the effective control which exists in Canada

has not hindered railroad development in that country. On the contrary it has gone on with amazing celerity, in anticipation of the prospective development of the interior. Moreover the popular hostility to corporations, so marked in the United States, is absent in Canada. In submitting themselves unreservedly to public control the corporations enjoy a corresponding protection which facilitates all their tasks of management. The climate of good will in which they flourish and expand is in striking contrast to the rancor and distrust that clog corporation management in the United States. Things have reached such a pass that railway managers who perform their functions in a spirit of trusteeship and not merely with a sense of private opportunity have now become desirous of a system of control that will relieve them of the necessity of maintaining legislative lobbies and paying blackmail to politicians, and that will fortify corporation credit by governmental warrant of the good faith of proposed issues. The time seems ripe for a comprehensive treatment of what is probably the most intricate and difficult problem of Amer-

ican politics, and it must be reckoned one of President Wilson's greatest achievements that he has managed to put this matter in line for thorough treatment.

In addition to the important subjects proposed for action by his opening address, another topic of the first rank came up during the session. European developments have plainly indicated that hereafter the United States will have to adjust its industrial activities to an environment very different from that which has existed heretofore. Arrangements are making among the nations to mobilize industry and to seize trade by means admitting of such prompt and energetic action. Without the development of new faculties with which to meet the new conditions, the United States would be like a huge but unwieldy dinosaur among hungry lions. To meet this situation President Wilson proposes the creation of a permanent tariff commission to keep watch upon conditions and to suggest the proper means to uphold, protect, and defend American interests.

The question has been raised, whether Presi-

dent Wilson is available for reëlection, however desirable his services might be to the nation in carrying to fruition the work he has begun. It is well known that there is nothing in the Constitution of the United States to prohibit reëlection. That matter was pondered by the framers of the Constitution and they decided in favor of continued eligibility. The established political tradition is that one good term deserves another. But the Democratic national platform of 1912 contained a plank in favor of limiting the President to a single term. Wilson had nothing to do with that action and was not consulted about it. But it so happened that application was made to him for his views on the subject before he took office. His reply, which discusses the subject on its merits, is too important a document to be abridged, and it will be found in full as an appendix to this volume.

Although it is too soon for a reckoning of the achievements of Woodrow Wilson's career as a statesman, yet one is on ground that is definitely settled in considering his character. Here at least is something that stands forth in the vicis-

situdes of the period as that which is fixed, certain, and complete. The cause of its marked excellence as an instrument of public service is evidently this: that it exhibits one of those rare conjunctions of great intelligence with great force of character, whose advent to power makes an epoch in the life of a nation. When such a combination appears on the scene everything changes; drift is succeeded by direction, opportunism by management; and routine is varied by fresh initiative and new purpose. The combination occurs rarely, for great intelligence is not usually associated with great strength of character. Fine intelligence is apt to be in the main the product of vision and sensibility, and these are generally accompanied by variability of mood and a tenderness of feeling disinclining one for rough encounters. Everyone knows how unreliable clever people may be. On the other hand, great strength of character is apt to be accompanied by a degree of obtuseness and insensibility. As a political staple, character is far more important than intelligence, and in a sound constitutional system, power will prefer solidity of

character to all other qualifications. But the great readjustments that must take place in the affairs of nations if they are to retain their health and vigor, seem to be contingent upon the appearance of a statesman in whom intellectual discernment and strength of character are united. Pitt, Cavour, and Bismarck are examples of the type furnished by modern history. A marked characteristic of the type is modesty. That is a quality imparted by the intelligence, but it is an element that promotes freedom of action, for there is no humiliation for humility. Its activity is essentially instrumental, and gains its ends not by imperiousness but through ability to serve. Not until the account is made up and events are seen in their historical perspective can it be said where Woodrow Wilson will stand in this class, but he certainly belongs to it. He is a statesman of this rare type, and this is the explanation of his power. It is not uncommon in state politics to pick for governor some man of civic distinction but political inexperience, usually with the result that his position in his own administration is merely that of a figure-head. Just

such an expectation was undoubtedly entertained in respect of Wilson, and his great intelligence alone would not have secured him against that destiny. There is much truth in Selden's saying that no man is the wiser for his learning. The basis of Wilson's success is the hard, strong, resolute, courageous character that was born in him; but having that character such circumstances as that it was engined by great knowledge and propelled by great intelligence made it the most forceful and efficacious instrument of popular rule that has been developed in American politics for many years. Its energetic strokes are making a great chapter of our history.

With this extraordinary capacity for public service, which is his distinguishing characteristic as a statesman, there was associated a fullness of opportunity that seems somehow to belong to the type. It has a way of making its appearance when old ways are breaking down, when existing methods are found to be inadequate, and when there seems to be an exhaustion of the resources of statesmanship. At the time Woodrow Wilson entered politics the ship of state

seemed to have become a derelict, swinging on the tides and veering with the winds, but incapable of settled course and direction. A poignant instance of this is afforded by the many years of uncertainty, irresolution, and futility characterizing the treatment of the currency question. It seemed that nothing could be done that could not be arranged by truck and dicker among particular interests. To digest plans for the public welfare and bring them to determination seemed to be beyond the ability of the Government. Both friends and foes agree to the proposition that Woodrow Wilson has changed all that, and that decision and energy have been infused into the conduct of public affairs.

Events are still too near and details are too incompletely known to admit of a computation of constitutional results, but it is at least perfectly plain that standards of official duty have been established that must affect the behavior of his successors. The great defect of our constitution in the present stage of its development is the opportunity it affords for avoidance of responsibility. Under both the English and the Swiss

system it is the recognized duty of the administration not merely to say that something ought to be done, but to prepare and state the means of doing it. But in the past we have allowed presidents to pass the responsibility on to Congress, while in its turn, and with greater justice, the Congress may lay the responsibility on the President. His position is essentially one of such power and responsibility that it is impossible to make it inert. A President may resolve to be entirely neutral on a pending measure, but nevertheless his office will exert a tremendous influence through his very inactivity. Senator John Sherman in his "Memoirs" ascribed the passage of the Silver Purchase Act to the fact that the Congressional leaders were unable to learn from the then President what action he would take on silver coinage, and hence they resorted to a compromise measure. Thus a President who apparently did nothing in reality started a train of events that culminated in a desolating financial panic. The strongest argument in favor of closer relations between Congress and the President is that it will subject the President to a sharper and more

exacting responsibility for the proper discharge of his functions. But meanwhile the terms of his oath of office and the injunctions of the Constitution should be enough to apprise any man of honor and courage who takes office as President of the United States that he cannot acquit himself of his obligations merely by requesting Congress to take matters into consideration. It is his duty to take an active part in shaping the details of legislation, in promoting action, and in enforcing party discipline. In all these matters Woodrow Wilson has set such high standards of constitutional propriety, and he has established such cogent precedents, that the character of the presidential office will be permanently affected. Our constitutional system is yet to be fully democratized, has yet to attain its final form. When the time comes for history to display the process, Woodrow Wilson's Administration will figure as the beginning of a new era.

APPENDIX

THE PLACE OF THE PRESIDENT IN OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM

AFTER the presidential election of 1912, but before Woodrow Wilson had assumed the presidential office, he was consulted by Representative A. Mitchell Palmer of Pennsylvania with respect to amending the Constitution so as to make an elected incumbent of the presidential office ineligible for reëlection. In reply Mr. Wilson wrote the following letter:

State of New Jersey,
Executive Department,
Feb. 13, 1913.

My dear Palmer:

Thank you warmly for your letter of Feb. 3. It was characteristically considerate of you to ask my views with regard to the joint resolution which has just come over from the House to the Senate with regard to the Presidential term.

I have not hitherto said anything about this question, because I had not observed that the public was very much interested in it. I must have been mistaken in this, else the Senate would hardly have acted so promptly upon it.

It is a matter which concerns the character and conduct of the great office upon the duties of which I am about to enter. I feel, therefore, that in the present circumstances, I should not be acting consistently with my ideals with regard to the rule of entire frankness and plain speaking that ought to exist between public servants and the public whom they serve, if I did not speak out about it without reserve of any kind, and without thought of the personal embarrassment.

The question is simply this: Shall our Presidents be free, so far as the law is concerned, to seek a second term of four years, or shall they be limited by constitutional amendment to a single term of four years, or to a single term extended to six years?

I can approach the question from a perfectly impersonal point of view, because I shall most cheerfully abide by the judgment of my party and the public as to whether I shall be a candidate for the Presidency again in 1916. I absolutely pledge myself to resort to nothing but public opinion to decide that question.

The President ought to be absolutely deprived of every other means of deciding it. He can be. I shall use to the utmost every proper influence within my reach to see that he is, before the term to which I have been elected is out. That side of the matter need disturb no one.

And yet, if he is deprived of every other means of

deciding the question, what becomes of the argument for a constitutional limitation to a single term? The argument is not that it is clearly known now just how long each President should remain in office. Four years is too long a term for a President who is not the true spokesman of the people, who is imposed upon and does not lead. It is too short a term for a President who is doing or attempting a great work of reform and who has not had time to finish it.

To change the term to six years would be to increase the likelihood of its being too long, without any assurance that it would, in happy cases, be long enough. A fixed constitutional limitation to a single term of office is highly arbitrary and unsatisfactory from every point of view.

The argument for it rests upon temporary conditions which can easily be removed by law. Presidents, it is said, are effective for one-half of their term only because they devote their attention during the last two years of the term to building up the influences, and above all the organization, by which they hope and purpose to secure a second nomination and election.

It is their illicit power, not their legitimate influence with the country, that the advocates of a constitutional change profess to be afraid of, and I heartily sympathize with them. It is intolerable that any President should be permitted to determine who should succeed

him—himself or another—by patronage or coercion, or by any sort of control of the machinery by which delegates to the nominating convention are chosen.

There ought never to be another Presidential nominating convention; and there need never be another. Several of the States have successfully solved that difficulty with regard to the choice of their Governors, and Federal law can solve it in the same way with regard to the choice of Presidents. The nominations should be made directly by the people at the polls.

Conventions should determine nothing but party platforms, and should be made up of the men who would be expected, if elected, to carry those platforms into effect. It is not necessary to attend to the people's business by constitutional amendment if you will only actually put the business into the people's own hands.

I think it may safely be assumed that that will be done within the next four years, for it can be done by statute; it need not wait for constitutional change. That being done, the question of the Presidential term can be discussed on its merits.

It must be clear to everybody who has studied our political development at all that the character of the Presidency is passing through a transitional stage. We know what the office is now and what use must be made of it; but we do not know what it is going to work out into; and until we do know, we shall not know what

constitutional change, if any is needed, it would be best to make.

I must speak with absolute freedom and candor in this matter, or not speak at all; and it seems to me that the present position of the Presidency in our actual system, as we use it, is quite abnormal and must lead eventually to something very different.

He is expected by the nation to be the leader of his party as well as the chief executive officer of the Government, and the country will take no excuses from him. He must play the part and play it successfully, or lose the country's confidence. He must be Prime Minister, as much concerned with the guidance of legislation as with the just and orderly execution of law; and he is the spokesman of the nation in everything, even the most momentous and most delicate dealings of the Government with foreign nations.

Why in such circumstances should he be responsible to no one for four long years? All the people's legislative spokesmen in the House of Representatives and one-third of their representatives in the Senate are brought to book every two years; why not the President, if he is to be the leader of the party and the spokesman of policy?

Sooner or later, it would seem, he must be made answerable to opinion in a somewhat more informal and intimate fashion—answerable, it may be, to the Houses

whom he seeks to lead, either personally or through a Cabinet, as well as to the people for whom they speak. But that is a matter to be worked out—as it inevitably will be—in some natural American way which we cannot yet even predict.

The present fact is that the President is held responsible for what happens in Washington in every large matter, and so long as he is commanded to lead he is surely entitled to a certain amount of power—all the power he can get from the support and convictions and opinions of his fellow countrymen; and he ought to be suffered to use that power against his opponents until his work is done. It will be very difficult for him to abuse it. He holds it upon sufferance, at the pleasure of public opinion. Everyone else, his opponents included, has access to opinion, as he has. He must keep the confidence of the country by earning it, for he can keep it in no other way.

Put the present customary limitation of two terms into the Constitution, if you do not trust the people to take care of themselves, but make it two terms (not one, because four years is often too long) and give the President a chance to win the full service by proving himself fit for it.

If you wish to learn the result of constitutional ineligibility to reëlection, ask any former Governor of New Jersey, for example, what the effect is in actual experi-

ence. He will tell you how cynically and with what complacence the politicians banded against him waited for the inevitable end of his term to take their chances with his successor.

Constitutions place and can place no limitations upon their power. They may control what Governors they can as long as they please, as long as they can keep their outside power and influence together. They smile at the coming and going of Governors as some men in Washington have smiled at the coming and going of Presidents, as upon things ephemeral, which passed and were soon enough got rid of if you but sat tight and waited.

As things stand now the people might more likely be cheated than served by further limitations of the President's eligibility. His fighting power in their behalf would be immensely weakened. No one will fear a President except those whom he can make fear the elections.

We singularly belie our own principles by seeking to determine by fixed constitutional provision what the people shall determine for themselves and are perfectly competent to determine for themselves. We cast a doubt upon the whole theory of popular government.

I believe that we should fatally embarrass ourselves if we made the constitutional change proposed; if we want our Presidents to fight our battles for us, we should give them the means, the legitimate means, the

means their opponents will always have. Strip them of everything else but the right to appeal to the people, but leave them that; suffer them to be leaders; absolutely prevent them from being bosses.

We would otherwise appear to be going in two opposite directions. We are seeking in every way to extend the power of the people, but in the matter of the Presidency we fear and distrust the people and seek to bind them hand and foot by rigid constitutional provision. My own mind is not agile enough to go both ways.

I am very well aware that my position on this question will be misconstrued, but that is a matter of perfect indifference to me. The truth is much more important than my reputation for modesty and lack of personal ambition. My reputation will take care of itself, but constitutional questions and questions of policy will not take care of themselves without frank and fearless discussion.

I am not speaking for my own reëlection; I am speaking to redeem my promise that I would say what I really think on every public question and take my chances in the court of public opinion.

Woodrow Wilson.

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